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# CHAPTER I.

SPORTING DURING THE VOYAGE, AND AT CALCUTTA.

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# THREE YEARS

IN

# CALCUTTA.

## CHAPTER I.*

SPORTING DURING THE VOYAGE, AND AT CALCUTTA.

Doubtless many a man about to embark for India has had some such a warning as, "Oh! do not leave your gun out; have it packed, and never open it until you land; the sea air will ruin it." I can say from experience this is all nonsense; a gun on board ship requires no more attention than every sportsman bestows upon it on shore; namely, to have it well cleaned after it has been discharged,

* A portion of this Chapter has been contributed, by the author, to a periodical work.

and if it has been lying unused for some days, to wipe it with a dry cloth or leather.

Not only have I had my own guns out, and in constant use, during a five months' voyage to India, but I have seen rifles and fowling-pieces, much more highly chased, and far more valuable than I ever possessed, employed during the same period, and landed in Calcutta without a rust-spot upon them of any amount. The sportsman who does not keep his gun and shooting appurtenances in his cabin, and within ready reach, will most certainly have needlessly thrown away the opportunity of enjoying many hours' recreation, and of killing game such as rarely come within the fowler's reach. He should have his guns slung athwart ship, and never fore and aft, to avoid any friction or bumping against the bulkhead from the ship's motion.

Regarding ammunition, the only particular direction needed is, that he should have a bag of No. 2 shot; smaller sizes are of no avail,

the fowl met with being large and densely feathered; and if a bird be not near enough to be brought down with a No. 2, the sportsman had much better lay down his fowling-piece and take to his rifle; for with the first, at such a distance, he may wound, but will rarely bring down his game.

I believe the above is all I have to particularize as requisites for the voyaging gunner, so let us next turn to what he should prepare for carrying on a successful warfare against the deep-sea fish. And here he may promise himself such angling as the most frequent visitant of the British streams never even dreamed of. Let no voyager, proposing to procure the tackle I advise, be deterred from his purpose by the volunteered advice, "Oh! you can get plenty of those on board." Let him take my word for it, that he will find no such abundance; sailors rarely have a good provision of either hooks or harpoons, or even of rope suitable for the sea fisherman;

and, if there should be, he will invariably find that when wanted they have been mislaid; or when the best sport offers, that others are using them. Let the sportsman take his own without fail.

And, first of all, let him provide himself with a harpoon. It is not an unwieldy weapon, for the handle unships from the barbed blade, so as to make a package not longer than three feet, and around it may be wound the coil of rope attached. Let no one start from the advice to be armed with a harpoon. It is not for the purpose of making war upon the whale, the seal, or the walrus, though the voyager to India will see abundance of the first-named during his seaward journey; but there are dolphins, porpoises, albacores, and other fish, continually around the ship, and mostly vanquishable by a single arm.

In addition to the harpoon for warfare against the tenants of the deep, the sportsman

must be provided with two shark-hooks, a dozen of strong common fishing-hooks, with an inch interval between the point of the barb and the shank; and two or three dozen of the very smallest hooks on the maker's pattern-book. The use of these will appear in the course of my narrative.

The shark-hooks should be full as stout as the little finger, well tempered, and attached to a chain about a foot long. A coil of rope, nearly as thick as the hooks, and about fifty yards long, will complete the equipment. The strength of the hook is of primary importance to be attended to. The sportsman need not fear that they will be too conspicuous, or too large for the shark to gorge; he is of such voracity that nothing capable of entering between his huge jaws will he refuse to take between them; and I can bear full testimony that no thickness of the rope, no want of temptation in the bait—for I have seen him swallow the largest hook, merely

enveloped in an old rag—has any influence over the success of the sportsman, but the strength of the hook is a *sine quâ non.* A very small hook will raise him to the surface; for he is a sluggish lethargic fish, never putting forth his energies until fully roused to a sense of his danger. It is only when the contest begins, on the issue of which his life depends, that he fully puts forth his strength; and then I have seen a hook nearly one-third of an inch in diameter, drawn straight in the struggle of a minute's duration.

I have said the voyager to India must not suppose that I advise a harpoon to be taken because he will have to contend with the whale; and though this be true, yet he is not without having a good chance of seeing that leviathan of the waters pursued and captured. The whale is usually associated with ideas and picturings of eternal snows, icebergs, and frozen zones; and though this fish undoubtedly abounds in such cold loca-

lities, yet it is met with abundantly in temperate and tropical climates.

The South Sea whalers cruize commonly in the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, and I have seen the whale in shoals but a little to the westward of that southern extremity of Africa. One actually came alongside of us while at anchor at St. Helena, and a bold fish he must have been, for two whalers were there at the very time for refreshments, and at anchor about two cables' length from us. Moreover, a whale fishery was established a few years since, at the Sechelle Islands, near the Mauritius, in the very heart of the tropics, and continued very successful, owing to the great abundance of fish which resorted thither, until competition among the whalers arose; the ground, to use a fox-hunting phrase, was over-hunted, and the whales were driven from their rendezvous.

Of all the world's sporting, none so abounds with romantic adventure—none is

so replete with a high spirit of enterprise—none so calls forth all the energies of the sportsman, as that of the South Sea whaler. He circumnavigates the globe in pursuit of his quarry; and what "a mighty hunter" is he whose chase endures for three uninterrupted years, and whose "meets" are so far separated as St. Helena, Tristan d'Cunha, Australia, and the Falkland, Sandwich, and Nicobar Islands! His dangers arise not merely from the power and ferocity of his game, but from the storms and hurricanes of the Atlantic, from the rocky dangers of coasts little explored, and from the fury of their savage inhabitants. Yet I have found among these men an ample refutation of the too often credited assertion, that mental pursuits and the pursuit of game, are incompatible.

The captains of the whalers are usually well informed men, and imbued with a fondness for literature and science. The very

last British whale ship with which I came in contact, was at St. Helena, in the August of the present year, and her captain was a good naturalist. During his then unfinished voyage, he was making a collection of all the aquatic birds to be met with in the southern hemisphere, and had a great many of them on board alive.

That such men should be found commanding vessels of this description during their perilous enterprise, is not much to be wondered at, when we consider the great encouragement given to their captains for the promotion of natural science, by the two principal owners of South Sea whalers, Messrs. Enderby and Bennett. They encourage their officers to exert themselves in the furtherance of maritime discovery, &c.; and a son of Mr. Bennett actually went on a whaling trip, the narrative of which he has published, and which volume should be found in every sportsman's library.

It is most unfortunately true, that some of the captains of South Sea whalers, especially of those from American ports, are anything but gentlemen, and much less are they men of science. With one such I fell in, when nearly becalmed about midway between the rocks of Martin Vas, on the coast of South America, and the Cape of Good Hope. In weather like that we were then annoyed by, vessels in frequented latitudes soon congregate; calms detaining some, and partial light airs bringing others above the horizon daily.

We were thus brought into the vicinity of a vessel becalmed, and at first she was thought to be on fire; but it was soon made out that the clouds of smoke which enveloped her arose from her being engaged in melting, or trying down the blubber she had procured. Her captain boarded us, and a thorough rough, unsophisticated Yankee he was as ever "guessed" he was more knowing than

those he addressed. We had the favor of his company to dinner, dressed, or rather undressed, as he was, without a jacket, and with tanned insteps, which told they rarely were incumbered with stockings. In addition, he defrauded several of our passengers, by selling them boxes of cigars, the upper strata of which were "real Havannahs," and the superincumbent were trash. For these offences, *contra bonos mores*, I readily forgave him, inasmuch as that he was the means of exhibiting to me the only glimpse of a whale-hunt I ever obtained; and my pardon, perhaps, was the more easily afforded to him, because I was not one of his victims.

We had scarcely finished dinner when the word was passed from the deck that some whales were in sight. Our guest was away from the cuddy table in an instant, and before we could all well follow, he was over the ship's side, and his beautiful boat darting away beneath the long stroke of her

well-practised oars' men. These whale-boats are the perfection of such small craft, whether their lightness, or safety, or easy impulsion are considered. Built of cedar, formed like the segment of an orange, with head and stern equally acute, so that it could be rowed either end foremost, and with oars more than ordinarily long and feathering, the boat of our guest seemed to fly from the rapid and punctual sweeps of its crew; the captain was at the steerage oar, and they had soon darted away to alongside their own ship.

Another boat had already been lowered; the harpooners were rapidly shipped with the requisite tackle, and in another minute they were sweeping off towards the spouting, which told of the whale's whereabouts. These spoutings, instead of resembling the columns of water usually represented in portrayals of the whale, are more like discharges of high-pressure steam. The water

of which they are composed is really so minutely divided by the extreme force with which it is impelled, that it appears like a cloud of vapour, and retains its cloud-like form for some seconds.

We were not near enough to distinguish the manœuvres of the boats, but we could see the harpooner elevate his weapon, poise it for an instant, and then deliver it, evidently with successful aim; but the huge animal took a course directly from us, and we saw no more than that the oarsmen "gave way" with redoubled energy; and just as evening was setting in, our officer of the watch reported that he saw them towing a carcase alongside their ship. A breeze sprang up during the night, and in the morning our companion was nowhere to be seen.

Next in size to the whale are the Black-fish, of which, the shoals I saw near the Agulhas bank, are too strongly associated

with a scene of extraordinary alarm, to allow them ever to be effaced from my memory. It is so connected, also, with an evening's fishing on the neighbouring coast of Africa, that the whole may be here admissible.

We had a splendid run from the coast of Sumatra to that of the African continent, across the south-east trade wind, and the land, *sighted* at daybreak, appeared, from solar observation, to be Point Hood. Our skipper, towards evening, stood in for the shore, in the hope that, as the sun approached to its setting, a land breeze would come off, which would enable him to run southward. This placed us in a predicament that might have been of fatal consequence to the ship, for when we were within about ten miles of the land, we were completely becalmed.

This would not have signified much, but the current set in shore, and it was soon evident we were getting near to the rocks of

this iron-bound coast; for the stern, ceaseless roar of the breakers, came gradually more and more distinct upon the ear. A more inhospitable looking coast could not be found—high table land, with an outskirt of sand-hills; and these, faced with rocks upon which a heavy surf was breaking, told that, probably, no boat could live to gain the shore; and that if any one buffeted to land alive, he would find no shelter or succour.

All this appeared to make no impression upon our skipper, who seemed confident that the land breeze would come to our aid before any real danger was upon us; and as such an example is always contagious, every one also seemed to feel secure; and those who were provided with hooks soon had their lines overboard, and were sedulously fishing.

We were rewarded by catching a plentiful supply of what the sailors called *snappers*. The officers said they had caught

them often in this vicinity, and on the coast of New South Wales: one weighed about sixteen pounds. They are formed like the perch, and with the same spinous fin down the back, but exhibiting the most beautiful mingled tints of pink, purple, and silvery white, equal in vividness to those of the dolphin. The scales are large, and of a parallelogram shape; and they have a single row of canine teeth in each jaw. The larger sized fish-hook I have mentioned, was employed for their capture, baited with a piece of the ship's pork. They are a spiritless fish, offering no resistance, but are excellent eating.

The captain was right in his conjecture; a breeze from off shore sprang up towards midnight, and the next morning, by daybreak, the land was almost out of sight, and we were running to the southward.

Breakfast was concluded, and we had just adjourned to the deck, when the ever-dan-

ger-fraught cry from the look-out man, of "Breakers a-head!" roused to alacrity even the most apathetic. It appeared to be too true; for at the distance of a short mile a-head, the surf seemed breaking heavily on a long line of reefs.

"Good God! the current must have carried us to the westward, on to the Doddington-rock!" said our skipper; and in much less time than is required for the relation, "Helm hard down!"—"Square the main-yard!"—"Call all hands from below!" and other orders ominous of danger, were given and obeyed. The good ship came quickly round, and stood off before the wind, when again the fearful warning was given, "Breakers a-head!" As promptly as before were orders carried into effect; the yards were braced sharp up, and "Luff all you can!" was the direction to the man at the wheel, in order, if possible, to weather this new danger. But it was too apparent that if

there were breakers, then, indeed, we were environed by danger almost beyond the possibility of escape. Still every thing was orderly, and the directions to clear the ropes, and hold all ready to go about, and try, if necessary, to weather the reefs on the other tack, were handily and quickly obeyed.

Then all was still—that stillness of suspense when the breath is scarcely perceptible, and the heart's pulsation is almost audible; every eye was fixed upon the breakers now brought upon our starboard bow, and the doubt upon every breast was, that we could not shoot past them, close hauled as we were on the wind, when again the cry from several voices was, "Breakers a-head!—Breakers on the larboard bow!" and it was then promptly discerned that we were environed, not by breakers, but by shoals of huge fish!

They were the Black-fish I have mentioned, ten times larger than the porpoise; but, in rolling like the latter, they threw up

a spray exactly resembling that created by waves, breaking upon a ledge of rocks. We at once resumed our course, and I was much amused by hearing the various excuses attempted by the officers to account for being so deceived; all, too, agreeing in the conclusion, "I thought they could not be breakers," though this was in the teeth of the fact, that for half an hour every soul on board did so think, and acted accordingly.

*Revenons aux moutons.* The noblest game for a deep sea angler is the shark, and there is, in the conquest of this fish, the same feeling as in a similar triumph over a tiger —an exultation, a gratification to think that mankind has been relieved from a monster —that one tyrant less is in existence. An antipathy seems to have been satisfied; and of all men in whom this motive seems to exist, it is strongest in the sailor. "Small blame to him, if any;" for he, more than any other human being, is liable to this de-

stroyer's attacks: it is he, as Mi[illegible] observed, more emphatically than grammatically, in her "Parthian Glances," who, more than other men, goes "to the place where the sharks is." The excitement among a ship's watch, when one of these fish is hooked, makes them for a time almost regardless of discipline; and when he is hauled on board, the cry and joy with which they hurry "John Shark," as they term him, to his fate, shows that they rejoice over a cruel enemy's fall.

The shark is seldom seen by those on shipboard, except either during a calm, or when the vessel does not make more way through the water than one or two knots an hour. He makes occasional *détours* round the ship, but astern, and mostly in the very wake of the vessel is the position he maintains. He appears, as looked down upon from a ship's deck, in shape like a cod, but of a greenish brown colour, and his fins tipped with white.

There are two species, the common or round-headed, and the blue or bottle-nosed. Each is savage and voracious; but worst, where both are bad, is said to be the last named. It is certain that this is larger than the other, but it is more rarely met with. I never saw but one.

An extraordinary circumstance connected with the shark, is its being invariably attended by a number, I have seen as many as a dozen, of most beautiful fish, varying in size from that of a herring to that of a mackerel. These are called pilot-fish, from the popular belief that they guide the shark to his prey; but I believe that this is a popular delusion, similar to that which obtained for the jackal the title of the "lion's provider." This arose from the jackal being always found in the vicinity of the king of the forest when he was devouring his prey. Better information now teaches that the jackal, on such occasions, comes to profit by the other's

leavings; and so, I think, the pilot-fish attend upon the shark, for the sake of feeding upon the fragments he scatters around when tearing his prey to pieces.

They are most sprightly, elegant fish, banded circularly with alternate stripes of white and vivid purple, and dart about the monster's head in evident security that no effort he might make would enable him to catch them; and they are most sedulous in picking up any little pieces that may separate from the bait employed to lure the shark, or that may be thrown in for their benefit, and which are too small to attract the monster's notice. No sooner is he hooked, and demonstrates, by his struggles, his sense of danger, than his little attendants betray, by their confusion and affrighted motions, that they are partakers of his fears; and the instant he is completely taken from them they dart away, and are seen no more.

In fishing for the shark, it is not required

of the sportsman to be either stealthy in his motions, or sedulous in keeping concealed from his sight. The only care requisite is to have the tackle of the strongest, the bait well secured upon the hook, and the chain of the hook firmly attached to the rope. A piece of fresh meat is certainly the most alluring bait; but as this is not always to be obtained, it is satisfactory to know that a piece of salted pork answers as well; for I never yet knew an instance in which the fish refused to take this bait. If he be at all shy, swimming around and about, without attempting to turn over on his side to seize the lure, he may immediately be rendered more determined by throwing into the water some small pieces of the same meat, which he invariably takes; and these as unfailingly provoke his appetite, so that he will seize the bait without further coyness.

The bait, if pork, is best if it consist principally of the rind. Through this the

hook must be thrust twice; one end of the bait being passed well up the shank of the hook, and whipped tightly on with twine, and the other end fastened in a similar manner close below the barb, yet so as to leave this entirely bare. When the shark is seen astern, the baited hook may be thrown over, and allowed to float to about twenty yards from the ship, and he will usually work up to it immediately, and, without a moment's hesitation, gorge the bait. This is not only felt but seen by the angler; for the bait floats at about two feet below the surface of the water, and this is perfectly pellucid, so that all the movements of the fish are visible.

Before casting in the bait, the line should be firmly fastened to a belaying pin, or some part of the standing rigging, as a security that the fish may not escape with all the tackle before the sportsman can obtain assistance; for to capture and haul in a shark single-handed is an utter impossibility.—

Some men have been fool-hardy enough to attempt such a feat; and I have been told of one gentleman who nearly paid for it the penalty of his life. He was tenant of one of the lower stern cabins—a place of all others in a ship where cries for assistance are least likely to be heard; and he amused himself by angling for a shark out of his cabin window. He sat upon the locker beneath the window, and having no other fastening handy, wound the line around his arm. A very large shark gorged the bait; the rope got entangled, not only round his arm, but about one leg, no one was near to render him prompt aid; and when the furious lashing of the fish, as much as the gentleman's outcry, at length brought to him assistance, he was found dragged across, and jammed into the window, with his arm most severely injured and lacerated.

This fishing is, however, usually, and

certainly most safely, carried on from the vessel's poop; for from thence the fish's movements are best observed; help is there always immediately procurable; and no fish capturable by the hook renders such aid more requisite. No sooner does he feel himself struck, and the line sternly taughtened, than his struggles commence; and if he be a large specimen of the species, they are most furious and most potent.

The plunges in every direction permitted by the line are made with a violence resembling that of a horse endeavouring to kick himself free from harness; and the fury and rapidity with which he beats the water with his tail, literally lashes it into a creamy foam. No pain seems to check him in this struggle; for I have now in my possession the jaw-bone of one I captured about a hundred miles to the westward of Acheen, and though his upper jaw is shown to have

been severely shattered by the hook, he struggled unflinchingly to the last moment of his being in the water.

The struggle, however, is seldom very protracted; for the sailors hasten to the aid of the fisherman with the utmost alacrity, and the monster is hauled up by main force, until his pectoral fins are out of the water. A rope, with a bowling knot, is then slipped over his head and under those fins, and pulling with a thorough good will, and running forward without any stoppage, the sailors drag him along to the forecastle; where, his tail being lopped off, he is rendered entirely powerless. The quick pace adopted in bearing the animal along the deck is necessary, to prevent him having the opportunity of striking with his tail; for the blows he can deal with this are said to have broken a man's leg—a power I believe they really possess; for I once witnessed their effect in an instance when the rope had slipped from

off a shark's body. The blows on the deck made the whole ship vibrate; and an unfortunate duck, which had escaped from the coop was, by one blow, smashed to a mummy. I will conclude my observations relative to this ocean monster, by noting that, in no place in the eastern seas does he more abound than on the western coast of Sumatra; of its eastern shore I know nothing.

The western coast, studded with islands, teeming with a savage Malay population, and still more thickly sprinkled with rocks, would be one of more than ordinary danger to the mariner, even if it were not subjected to the visitation of storms the most terrific, and even if its harbours were well sheltered and secure places of refuge. This, however, is not the case; but vessels visiting this coast, to barter for its pepper, tortoise-shell, benzoin, and camphor, have to anchor at a distance of two or three miles from the shore, which the ship's supercargo has to visit daily.

This is no *recreation;* for almost all the harbours have a bar across their mouths, over which a frightful surf is constantly breaking. Through this the boat has to be impelled; and woe be to its crew, if it chance to touch the ground, for it almost invariably capsizes, and the surf buries all beneath its raging surge, to be devoured as certainly by the sharks, which always follow the boat in numbers from the vessel to the shore.

Never shall I forget a visit to this island. We had left Calcutta in May, during the very height of the south-west monsoon; our vessel was deeply laden, and sprung a leak in beating down the Bay of Bengal, against that merciless and unvarying wind.

Our skipper was a first-rate navigator, but he was entirely a novice in the waters east of Cape Comorin. It was impossible to venture on with a leaky ship round the Cape of Good Hope; for we should have to pass that region of storms in July or August, the

depth of its winter. The choice then left us was, to run into one of the sheltered ports offered by the Nicobar Islands; or into Acheen, at the most northern extremity of Sumatra. The latter was selected; for although the Malays of this island are of piratical habits, yet our captain thought a Dutch consul was resident there; and, to deter us from the Nicobars, the fate of the *Pilot* whaler, was presented to memory: the crew of which had been massacred a few months before, by the natives.

Well, for Acheen we steered, and a lovely morning was that on which, under a press of canvass, we passed the dangers of the islands Pulo Rondo, Pulo Brasse, Pulo Way, and Pulo Nancy, which environed its entrance, and dropped anchor in its roads. The mouth of the Acheen river is marked by a flag-staff; and towards this the skipper and myself were pulled in the ship's-pinnace. Like the other rivers of this island, it has a

bar across its mouth, and the surf rolled and broke upon it deterringly; but necessity impelled us, so our jolly crew bent themselves to the effort, and the boat seemed to spring, like the hunter, to force a passage through the barrier. Our draught was too great, and the boat grounded; one surf broke over us, and another, still more gigantic, seemed following with our *hic jacent*; but our jollies "gave way with a will;" our skipper's trusty hand was upon the tiller; and, instead of lurching round, our stern kept to seaward, and the huge swell, instead of overwhelming us, bore us afar from the danger towards the land.

"That's good," quoth our captain; and I had no difficulty in coinciding with this opinion, though I could not refrain from turning to look at the foaming danger we had escaped, and reflecting that again had it to be encountered before we could regain our floating home.

Omitting all minor details, let it suffice to be narrated that we pulled full three miles into the interior, though we did not feel quite at ease, unarmed as we were, to venture thus far away from the ship into the heart of a country unknown to us, and passing, as we did, piratical proas, and wave-boats, full of the most forbidding-looking armed examples of that most treacherous of the human varieties—the Malay. Nor was the dense jungle, which clothed the river to its very brinks, rendered at all more enjoyable by observing, that the few huts which appeared in this wooded wilderness were all built upon lofty piles, to secure safety from the periodical floods, and were ascended by ladders, removable at night, to exclude the visits of the ferocious animals—tenants of the jungle. Of the latter we saw none; for the buffalo, of which some small herds were bathing in the sluggish stream, scarcely deserves the title. Neither am I sure that these were not domes-

ticated, for they merely turned their heads, the only portion of their bodies visible above the water, to gaze upon us as we passed—a determined quietude, not at all characteristic of the wild buffalo of India, when he thinks man approaches unpleasantly near to his haunts.

After more than an hour's row against the stream, we reached Acheen, and no words can describe our disappointment. It is a mere irregularly disposed assemblage of native huts, not one larger than a common sized pig-sty, with thatched roofs, and totally unenclosed sides; and so far from a Dutch consul being resident, the very name of that people is there held in horror and detestation, as well it may, considering the horrid ravages —the fire and sword—they are carrying throughout the western districts of the island. We were speedily surrounded by about a hundred of its treacherous natives. Each was naked to the waist; but in every cummer-

bund (or sash) was apparent the cruel cress (a crooked dagger), and in every right hand a naked pedang, or short scimitar, peculiar to these islanders. Such a gathering was not the most welcome, but they did not show any symptoms of aggression, so I whispered the captain to show no movement of mistrust; and I went on interpreting for him, just as if I were quite accustomed to be in the midst of such armed savages.

The rajah was away on account of ill-health; therefore our chief want,—a piece of timber to repair the ship's cut-water—could not be promptly supplied; and we had to barter our cheroots, and other trifles, for chickens, ducks, eggs, and fruits.—We thanked God heartily when we had got these into the boat; and having bargained for further supplies on the morrow, felt rather certain that if the vendors lived until we fetched them, they would survive the wandering Jew.

The return down the river was an easier undertaking than the ascent; but the rush through the surf on the bar was terrific. We who sat in the stern, faced, and saw uninterruptedly, the danger we encountered; and even to this hour I feel a thrill of horror as I call it to remembrance. A squall had come on blowing right in-shore; this raised the surf into complete billows of broken foam, and our men were wearied by their exertions under a tropical sun.

Nor was this all, for we had now to bale incessantly, the boat having sustained more damage in grounding on the bar than we had suspected, and providential indeed was our preservation: the planking of the pinnace had started from one side of the cutwater! Our men, however, were of the right sort—game to the last—and the stroke was indeed well-timed and powerful which carried us over the crest of the surf into comparatively smooth water. A few minutes

brought us alongside our "gallant barque," and as we stepped through the gangway, I thought to myself, it is not *probable* I shall try that again to morrow.

We never got any of the promised supplies, nor did we wait for the desired wood; for the leak was fortunately stopped by such materials as we had on board, and right glad were we to get under sail without hindrance from this nest of pirates.

Before leaving the subject of marine angling, I must observe, after this long digression, that the smallest hooks with which I have recommended the voyagers to be provided, are not for the purpose of securing fish, but birds.

After blowing weather has continued for some days in the latitude of, and about the Cape of Good Hope,—weather which prevents the aquatic birds of that region pursuing their fishing successfully,— hunger renders them daring, and they will take a

bait with avidity. Half a dozen bungs should be attached to the rope-line employed, not only to attract the attention of the birds, but to keep the hook floating near the surface. The bungs should be fastened about a foot apart, at the line's extremity; the hook, baited with pork, being at the very end. If the Cape pigeons, as the elegantly speckled little water-fowl of the vicinity are popularly called, are the quarry to be caught, the very smallest hooks must be employed; and in the weather I have mentioned, they swallow the bait so freely—indeed, contesting for its possession—that I have seen a dozen caught in the course of an hour. They are pulled on board without difficulty, and afford a variety for the table of the long voyager. A prejudice exists against them, but they are not at all inferior to teal, except that they are much smaller.

In one of my journals, I find this entry, "July 23rd, 1842, lat. 34. 41, S.; long.

22. 52, E. The blowing weather has rendered the Cape pigeon quite voracious. Yesterday evening they came fearlessly under the ship's counter, and contested for the bait, uttering, without noticing us, their little sharp cry of anger. Caught ten; and the sailors were successful in hooking some by the aid of merely bent pins. One of these had attached to its leg, by a piece of twisted brass wire, a small regimental button of some officer of H. M. 78th regiment, with its appointed bearings, the crown and elephant, and the record words of past valour, 'Assaye, Maida, Java.' If this should meet the eye of the person who affixed the button, it might be of use to the naturalist to state when and where he made the bird a prisoner." *

To capture the albatros, the Goliath of aquatic birds, the largest sized fishing-hook may sometimes be employed successfully;

* I have, since this went to press, observed that this bird had been liberated only ten days before we caught it, by Lieut. G. Horrocks, of the 78th Regiment, from on board the *Mary* transport, in lat. 27.14', long. 54.46'.

but my own attempts to allure them have invariably failed.

Let us now pass to the sport in which the harpoon is the weapon employed, and with this I will not long detain the reader.

The only fish against which I have seen others use, or have myself employed the harpoon, are the dolphin, the porpoise, and the albacore. The only place whence it can be delivered effectively, or I should say with any chance of success, is from the bowsprit. Stationed here, the arms are free from interruption by the rigging, and the sportsman can also command a survey of both sides of the vessel, and become better apprized of the approach of fish. It is about the bows of a ship, too, that these delight to sport; so that if harpoonable fish are in the vicinity of a vessel, it is almost a certainty that they come to her head, if they approach at all.

A primary care in harpooning is to have the rope-coil on that side of the sportsman from which he delivers the harpoon: a right-

handed man will therefore have it on his right side. Nor less important is it that a sufficient quantity of rope should be perfectly free to run out, so as to intercept as little as possible the swift passage of the harpoon, and to avoid any divergence from its direction that otherwise would be occasioned. In discharging the weapon, it should be aimed a foot before the fish's head; or, in the case of a porpoise, with its back above the surface, directly at its head; if truly delivered, the harpoon will, in each instance, pass directly through the midrif.

The only danger in harpooning is, that the rope may get entangled round the legs or arms of the sportsman; or that, in the excitement of the moment, having struck a fish, he may grasp the line in a vain attempt to pull against his struggling victim; in either case, he will inevitably be pulled overboard. This was the fate of a cadet proceeding to Calcutta, a few years since; and he was rescued from a horrid death, which

would have been consequent, by the gallant conduct of a black, who was the ship's cook.

This man had jumped upon the forecastle from his galley, without dropping the knife he was using, and he at once perceived that, though the young gentleman could swim well, an antagonist more destructive than the waves was in close pursuit. Blackey stripped, and was overboard in an instant, knife in hand; diving deeply, he came up under the shark, and struck his knife into the brute's belly, who, lashing round, fled from a repetition of the blow, and allowed both the cadet and cook to ascend the ship's side at their leisure. The gallant black was well rewarded, though he did not seem to consider he had done any thing extraordinary, his only observation being, "Dat de way serve him at Tobago!"

It is for the avoidance of the danger of being dragged overboard, that the line should be coiled as I have directed, and its end

made fast to one of the larger spars. When a fish is struck, if it be a porpoise, help the line to run freely, and call for assistance, which is joyously rendered in a moment by the forecastle-men off duty; but if it be a dolphin, or an albacore, you may complete the capture without aid.

The albacore might be called the mackerel-major; for in colour and appearance it resembles a fat dumpy specimen of that species. It is the great enemy of the flying-fish, and it is often in the effort to escape from its pursuit, that these beautiful creatures are seen skimming and bounding in shoals over the crests of the waves.

The exquisite beauty—and as varying as beautiful—of the colours exhibited by the scales of the dying dolphin, is not only not a fable, but not even an exaggeration. Every shade—every possible blending of red and blue and pearly whiteness—from the faintest pink to the darkest purple (which last-named

colour comes on as death supervenes), appear in rapid and mingled succession.

The albacore weighs from eight to ten pounds, and the dolphin about half as much more—I mean when full grown. The first of these fish is too coarse for consumption by any other than the tenants of the forecastle, but the dolphin might be admitted into the *cuisine* of the most refined.

Lastly, I will glance over the shooting on the Atlantic; and a narrative of one day's adventure in the November of 1838, will suffice to show what may be expected when beating over that portion of Neptune's vast domain. I have already warned the voyager that no shot less than No. 2 ought to be in his belt for the ocean fowl, and a hint or two will be well for him to remember when employing them.

The place from whence the marksman will usually have the opportunity of trying his skill, is the vessel's poop; and during

blowing weather—a consequence of which contingency is, that the motion of the vessel renders it requisite to take snap-shots—a good cover-shot will generally kill well from a ship's deck; but he who can only bring down his game in the open country has little chance of success. Yet the fowl seem to come so close, to fly so owl-like, and altogether to afford such easy shots, that every novice—though a dead-shot, perhaps, on *terra firma*—will unquestionably have to console himself with Sheridan, "Well, at all events, I made the feathers fly!"

Practice and patience, as in all other efforts, will work wonders here, as they will also in correcting the judgment as to the distance of a bird from the vessel's side. At first, the fowler will be deceived by thinking his object much nearer than it is in fact—a deception always affecting the unpractised eye; objects appearing nearer, when looked upon across water, than when

over land; and which seems to be occasioned by no prominent objects intervening, or being around, to serve as guides, as well as from the fact, that bodies viewed through air saturated with moisture are powerfully magnified. The atmosphere on the ocean is always in this state.

A very long-practised shooter on the sea gave me, as a rule, "Never fire at a bird unless you can see its eye;" but this is only applicable to such large birds as the albatros, the booby, and the Soland goose. If the fowler waited until he could see the eye of the Cape pigeon, or of the Boatswain bird, before he fired, the same charges would probably remain in his barrels from the rocks of Martin Vas to Spence's Hotel, in Calcutta.

The great drawback to shooting from a ship's deck is the inability to secure the birds when killed. The only instances I have known of birds falling on board of the vessel from whence they had been shot, were

Boatswain birds and Hawks, off the Azores. These birds only offer the chance of a shot as they glide over and around the heads of the masts; and then, if cleanly killed, they often fall directly upon deck, or are entangled in the rigging as they descend.

Deck-shooting, however, is not that alone of which the voyager can partake, for during calm days, of which there are always more than are desired, the skipper will usually lower the quarter-boats from the davits, and give the sportsman four oarsmen, to enable him to beat for game.

There is no need of much search upon these occasions, for the characteristic stupidity of the booby is not confined to that species of water-fowl. No sooner does the boat get well away from the vessel's side, than every bird within eye-shot of it comes circling round, and persists in doing this, though witnessing the fall of its companions, and unscared by the report of fire-arms, which

are thus scattering death around. The stupidity of the booby scarcely exceeds this, although I have certainly seen that bird alight upon the main-royal yard, and though no longer time elapsed than was sufficient to allow a seaman to ascend from the deck to his place of roost, looked upon him as he approached, and suffered him to effect his capture, without an attempt to escape or resist.

It was my good fortune to have as *un compagnon du voyage* a high official in "John Company's Service," returning to Calcutta from the Cape, whither he had been for the recovery of his health. I say it was my good fortune, because, independently of having gained a true friend, I found in him a full refutation of the illiberal dogma, that "a sportsman can be nothing but a sportsman." So far from this, C. W. S. is a model of a Christian gentleman, a keen sportsman, a first-rate shot, a devotee of natural science,

an excellent painter, and a thorough man of business. After this tribute to moral and mental worth, let me add it was with this gentleman that I had the best day's boat-shooting that ever fell to my lot on the Atlantic. — Ours was not merely wanton slaughter on that day, for the quarry were to afford subjects for his pencil, which has created for him, perhaps, the richest existing portfolios of the ornithology of Eastern India. The albatros, the cape pigeon, the stormy petrel, and many others, were piled in our boat that day; and if a waft in the ensign of our ship had not warned us to return, as a breeze was rising, we might have brought down many more.

One albatros measured more than twelve feet across the wings, and seemed like a great calf rather than a bird, when being dragged from the water into the boat.

I am not at all anxious to refute the opinion expressed by Mr. Blaine, in his "Ency-

clopædia of Rural Sports," that the stormy petrel is one of the most difficult birds to hit. He says all shooters agree on this, and I will not contradict him, because it would by so much detract from my own title to self-esteem. I will, therefore, content myself by observing that I never shot at more than two, and killed them both. The first of these was on the boating excursion I have just noticed; and then I had the extra zest given to success, by "wiping the eye" of my friend S., who had fired both barrels at the same bird. The non-nautical reader must not suppose that I have not had abundant opportunities of killing more petrels than the two I slaughtered —hundreds are seen by every voyager, and well within gun-range; but "Mother Cary's chickens," as the sailor terms them, are as sacred in his eyes as the redbreast in those of the landsman, and passengers attend to his prejudice that misfortune follows the ship of their slayer, either because they would not

needlessly offend, or because they think "there may be something in it."

The last of the ocean sports I remember to have shared, is turtle-catching. If there ever could be a sporting alderman, methinks it would be in a stealthy chase like this that he would be found. The sea, smooth as a vast mirror—not a sigh of wind to move the dog-vane, even if it were formed of eider-down—nothing to disturb his equanimity; and when "the cry was up,"—"turtle in sight on the larboard quarter!" and he beheld the conical backs above the water's surface of the growers of calipash and calipee, he would assuredly be tempted over the ship's side, into the boat, to gather in the "fattening harvest."

The turtle, when thus seen, are basking in the sunshine asleep; and it is only by proceeding most cautiously and noiselessly, that they can be secured. When within about one hundred yards of one, every oar but two should be unshipped, and the boat impelled

towards it by the gentlest possible dips of the remaining two. Two men should be at the head of the boat, which, if possible, should be so brought alongside the turtle that the right hand of the man who is to seize him is towards the animal's head; for if this hand can be passed down in front of the animal, before he begins to move, the capture is almost certain. It never attempts to back water, if I may so apply the term, and while the right hand keeps it from going a-head, with the other a fin on the side farthest from the boat is seized, and the "alderman's idol" turned over without difficulty. Once on its back, it is powerless, and can be lifted at leisure into the boat.

The second man at the boat's head should stand harpoon in hand, so that in case the animal should move off too soon, or if the other man should handle it so awkwardly as to let it slip, there may be another chance of capture. The harpoon passes readily through

the back shell, which is not nearly so hard as that of the land-tortoise.

Some few years since, whenever a ship touched at the Island of Ascension, which was frequently the case, when it was even betting whether a homeward-bound Indiaman made or missed St. Helena, there was always an evening's amusement in turtle-catching. The mode was unique, and is still pursued by the settlers. At night the turtle come upon the beach, and as the darkness prevents their being discovered, two men, each holding opposite ends of the same long rope, which is allowed to sweep on the ground between them, run rapidly along the beach, and this catching under the flat shells of every turtle with which it comes in contact, completely turns him over upon his back; and, after sweeping the beach in this manner, the sportsmen, if they deserve so honourable a title, return home and quietly wait till daylight. The reversed turtle, being above

high-water mark, are totally unable to escape.

This sport is now entirely excluded from visiting ships, for Ascension is a naval depôt, being an admirable place of resort for refreshments and necessary stores to our cruisers on the African station. It is found to be much more healthy, and the superior dryness of the climate over that of the main land, where the stores were formerly kept, preserves these in much better condition. Turtle still resort in abundance to the island, but visitors have to purchase them, the Englishmen who reside there keeping a good look-out, and claiming a kind of manorial right over them.

Turtle are usually met with in the latitudes of St. Helena and Ascension, but more abundantly in the Bay of Bengal. It was in the latter locality that the only genuine specimen of the sea-snake was caught, that I have ever seen. It was secured during a

turtle-hunt, as told in the following extract from an officer's journal.

"22d January, 1842.
"Lat. 17° 14′ N. Long. 84° 32′ E.

"About 11 A.M. one of the men, who was at work aloft, reported several turtle in sight. As we were lying completely becalmed, and the weather very favourable for catching them, Captain P—— lowered a boat down, and started in chace, succeeded in hauling in two, and then returned to the ship to take the meridian observations. After dinner both boats were manned, the captain taking charge of one, and I of the other. Pulled about for some time, and failed in our two first attempts, from over eagerness.

"While in chace of a third, saw a snake basking in the sun, on the surface of the water. The bowman of the boat, from a fear of being bitten, instead of throwing the reptile into the boat, contrived to hurl it several fathoms from us. Being decidedly of opinion

that small fish are better than none, we pulled short round, and succeeded in effecting the capture. Took the precaution of bruising his head with my heel, and then made him fast under my seat. After some time, caught one very fine turtle, and as the sun was now getting low, and the turtle scarce, we returned on board, and were rather annoyed, on coming alongside, to find that the other fishing party had caught three turtles, each even finer than ours. However, we had no reason to complain of our day's sport."

The snake thus caught is scaly, spotted largely with intense black upon the back, but silvery over the belly, and if he be a specimen of "the great Ameraky sea-sarpent," Jonathan either *slightly* exaggerated when he made an affidavit that it looked over the head of his mizen mast, or that in my possession is a very young one, for it is only four feet in length and an inch and a half in diameter at the thickest part of the body.

Before I close these notes upon Atlantic sporting, let me add a few words of advice to those who may have the chance of profiting by my experience, and recommend the chess-player to take a set of men pegged at the bottom, and a board, having each of its squares correspondingly perforated. This is absolutely necessary for an uninterrupted enjoyment of the game, for whilst the ship is under sail, scarcely a day occurs through a five months' voyage, during which a game can be played with a common board and men. The greatest vigilance will not preserve the latter from being simultaneously slid from their places.

Six or eight packs of cards will not be too many to take, because, although they may be played with in the cuddy some time after they have attained an aspect that would prevent them showing their faces even at a family quadrille table, yet, if on board a supply be wanted, and the steward chances to have a

pack of smuggled woolly things, which, if used, would justify the dealer in wetting his thumb, he will probably ask for them the moderate price of five or six shillings.

One great privation on board ship is the want of active exercise, and all the most indefatigable padding backwards and forwards upon the poop, will not keep off its natural consequence from the passenger—the necessity of frequent application to the ship's Æsculapius for peristaltic persuaders. Dancing, when opportunity offers, is a good substitute for the active pursuits to which the sportsman has been accustomed; but a still better is a recourse to one of the sports of boyhood *egg-hat!* The reader who has never been a voyager, will laugh at the idea; but I can assure him I have seen staff-officers, magistrates, barristers, and judges, join in this game, wisely throwing aside the dignity of manhood and station, which would indeed have been misplaced if suffered to prevent an exercise, of which health was the result.

The voyage and its sports concluded, and the shades of Calcutta attained, the voyager will find that there is no refutation here of the dictum, that whithersoever a people may migrate, they invariably carry with them their religious observances and their sports. It matters little how ill-suited they may be to their newly-adopted climate, they are still clung to, if from no worthier motive, at least from the force of habit. Thus in the most torrid period of the hot season; gentlemen at Calcutta swelter at church in coats of broad-cloth and stiff stocks, because they have been accustomed, in England, to dress to attend public worship. On other days, they rejoice in the relaxation of their white jackets and open collars; but they seem to think, on Sunday, that God would be imperfectly worshipped, if they were not thoroughly saturated with perspiration, and superlatively uncomfortable.

In such a climate as that of India, those who have never entered through the Ghauts

of Calcutta might conclude that no such laborious sport as cricket would be pursued there. Yet, if the voyager arrive during the comparatively cold season, and land in the evening at Chandpal Ghaut, he will at once ascend to the finest view of the City of Palaces, looking upon it across a plain forming the most magnificent cricket-ground in the world, and where the Calcutta Club play regularly.

Walking forth upon its smooth turfy surface, and turning to the north, facing you stand a series of palatial buildings, including the Supreme Court, the Town-hall, and Government-house; to your left is the broad water of the Ganges, with its gay array of ships homeward-bound for dear old England; to the right is another row of palaces, bordering the Chowringhee-road; and behind you the collegiate-looking church and official houses of Fort William, rising amid trees within its turf-coated batteries.

On the cricket-ground stand two spacious tents, not like the paltry affairs bearing that name in England, but lined with fancy chintz, furnished with looking-glasses, sofas, chairs, &c., and each player's wants are supplied by his turbaned attendants, whether it be a light for his cigar, iced soda-water, or champagne. The Club can turn out "a very good eleven;" and, while in full operation, the field exhibits no peculiar feature to the eye of an English freshman, but the universally-worn white hats, with very broad brims, made of a vegetable pith, called sola, which is far lighter than cork, and an admirable non-conductor of heat. The natives do not at all enter into the pleasures of this manly game, neither do the servants of the players, if desired to stop a stray ball, think it at all meritorious to risk stinging their fingers by stopping it while in motion; they amble by its side until it has ceased rolling, and then pick it up!

There is only one native that I know in all Calcutta who dares attempt to catch a ball in full career; his name, *Modum*, which is Anglicised into "Mutton," deserves to be recorded, for no ball can pass his arms, body, or legs, which are all, or any of them, thrown across its course without hesitation, as occasion requires.*

With the word "*Races*," is associated in the mind of an Englishman all that is beautiful and elegant in the form of the horse, all that is brilliant and tasteful in equipage, all that is graceful in costume, and all that is lovely in woman, congregated upon turf the softest and most verdant, bathed in sunshine bright; and surrounded by nothing but merry faces, music, pastimes, and every thing which savours of mirth and holiday. Oh, the woeful contrast to all this offered by

* This description was sent by me from India to a London paper, and was thence copied, much to my amusement, by a party in Calcutta.

the Calcutta course! It is not sufficient for the races to be held in the coldest season of the year (January and February), but they have to be run during the coolest period of the day, and if you wish to be a spectator you must turn out into a dense fog, at five o'clock in the morning; and, after driving or riding through volumes of dust,—not raised by the equipages "off to the races," but by the high winds which then prevail,—dust, to which that on the most pulverulent Derby day that ever afflicted cockneys is as the smoke of a cigar to that of Vesuvius,—you arrive on the hard brown turf, and climb up into the grand-stand, which is a neat structure, capable of accommodating about five hundred spectators, and which, on a very "taking" occasion, may be found occupied by twenty. This, of course, makes the place look *cheerful*, and the elegance of the whole is promoted by the presence of about three ladies, shivering with the cold, and the rest

are juvenile military subalterns, and some would-be-thought "knowing ones," who, whatever they are, show, by walking about *on* the benches, with their hands tucked in their great-coat pockets, and their cigars fuming, that *all* their habits are not gentlemanly.

Of the proprietors of horses I shall say nothing more than that they confess they are dabbling with what they have no business to meddle, by adopting fictitious names. That they have no business on the turf is now well known, by the tales told by many a ledger which has come before the official-assignee in the Calcutta Insolvent Court.

With but one exception, the jockeys are indifferent, but quite good enough for the horses. Poor little Mann! the Newmarket jockey, came out in 1841, but the climate killed him, I think, before he had ridden a single race.*

* I am not quite sure that I am correct as to the jockey's name.

The horses are almost invariably Arabs, imported by Arab merchants, some of whom reside in Calcutta. Every body knows what are the points about these horses; they are good little saddle-horses, averaging 14 hands 2 inches, and nothing more. As to speed, the majority of them can get over "the Gilbert-mile" in two minutes, and it has been done in one minute and thirty-eight seconds.* But how little they are able to compete with the English race-horse is told by the fact, that the rules of the course require that he should carry from 2 st. 7 lb to 3 st. extra.† Yet with this enormous addition on his back, poor old *Lieutenant*, in the season of 1839, beat all the Arabs in Calcutta.

The betters are numerous, and not by any

* The round-course in Calcutta is two miles and a quarter in length.

† Good English imported horses fetch high prices, viz., from £100 to £150, and even £200. I mean high in proportion to quality, for they would not fetch more than one-third the price in England. This advance necessarily occurs, for a horse's passage costs £40.

means confined to Europeans; many natives are to be seen every racing morning, endeavouring to make "a good book," and more than he who was known as "the sporting baboo," have lost many hundreds of gold mohurs, ere they adjourned to the contemplation of their more legitimate books.

The English sportsmen have rather a peculiar mode of betting, which takes the form of a lottery. At the "sporting dinners," which are occasionally held at Spence's hotel, during the season, the horses named for a certain stake are mentioned, and those present invited to bid for them. Thus, supposing there are three horses—Fieschi, Exile, and Bedouin, and Mr. A. gives ten gold mohurs for Fieschi's chance of winning, Mr. B. gives five gold mohurs for Exile's chance, and Mr. C. two gold mohurs for Bedouin's. The seventeen gold mohurs are then paid by the bidders in the above proportions, into the hands of the secretary of the races, and when the contest has been decided, are handed over by him

to the owner of the winning horse's chance. —The native merchants are now commonly seen on the race-course, booking their bets, and acting like "knowing ones." This is a practice of very modern introduction, but has become so common as to be noticed even in newspaper doggrels. Two of the "sporting baboos" were thus alluded to:

"Sugar is rising,
Silk is likewising,
So now let us baboos the joys of sport feel;
I'll not at ledger look,
But take my betting-book,
Like Radamadub and Muttyloll Seal."

There are abundance of tigers and deer in the jungles of the *Sunderbunds*, about a day's sail from Calcutta; and of snipe and wild fowl, endless quantities in its neighbour-lakes or *Jeels*. Having nothing of novelty to relate concerning their pursuit, I shall rest contented with this brief mention, and upon the subject of the Calcutta hounds I shall be equally concise.

Hunting at peep of day, and whipping off

so soon as the sun is well up, is not a very tempting time for "the meet;" that, however, is the only time during which either horse or rider could live through a fifteen minutes' burst. This is about the extreme length of their duration; and puggling jackals about from one bamboo jungle to another, is dreadfully slow work for any one fresh from the English woodlands.

# CHAPTER II.

LANDLORDS—RYOTS—COOLIES—SLAVES.

Agricultural System—Dependance of Ryots—Sircars—Two Examples—Proposed Landholders' Society—Consequences of Conversion from Hindooism—Lavoisier's Reply—Universal Poverty—Usury—Exactions paid by the Ryots—General Ignorance—Cooly Emigration—The Cooly Committee—Superabundance of Labourers—Evidence of Coolies themselves—Testimony of a Medical Gentleman—Slavery in India—Consequences of the Laws of Caste.—Lord Auckland's Suggestion—Sale of Children.

## CHAPTER II.

LANDLORDS—RYOTS—COOLIES—SLAVES.

THE agricultural system of India is the prime cause of its poverty, and deeply is it to be deplored that the English landholders of its soil make no attempt to change that ruinous system pursued by the native Zemindars, or land proprietors—a system steeping to the very eye-brows the Ryot, or actual farmer, in hopeless poverty.

Scarcely a Ryot exists in all India who is not in debt, beyond the hope of redemption, to the Zemindar of whom he holds the land, and who has made to him money advances

enabling him to sow the few bigahs of land he has hired.* This weighs like an incubus upon the Ryots, but it is not the worst contingency, for they are debited in the Zemindar's books for sums far larger than they receive.

The Zemindar does not personally visit his estate, but leaves its entire management to his Sircar,† and the consequences are, that this invariable rogue and extortioner, keeps the money he ought to have advanced to the Ryots in his own hands, applies it to his own purposes, and when he does pay the advances to the Ryots, it is only after making a large deduction, or *dustoorie*, a deduction which his victim dares not to refuse.

The following narrative is from the pen of a highly respectable clergyman, resident at Calcutta, and may be depended upon, not only as particularly true, but as a correct

* In Bengal, a bigah of land is one-third of an acre, but it varies in different parts of India.

† Sircar, a native steward or accountant.

illustration of the working of the general system.

"There are two estates, not one hundred miles from Calcutta, belonging to Europeans, on which paddy (rice) is grown, and salt manufactured. They abound with game, and fish in abundance is at the very doors of the Ryots. On a visit paid to one of these estates, we found the people living in huts, or, rather, apologies for huts, such as the most wretched of the sons of Erin would scarcely shelter in. Poverty the most squalid sat on every feature, and haunted every spot.

"The miserable beings, shut up from all communion with the mass of the people, had one priest, one shopkeeper, whose whole stock consisted in a few of the meanest articles of barter; not one pice (the lowest circulating coin) was to be found in the community, nor money in any form. They had no gun either to kill game for subsistence, or beasts of prey for protection;—no

net or hook with which to catch the fish at their very doors; and the reply to my inquiry, 'Why have you not this or that?' was invariably, 'How are we to procure it? we have received no money *for twelvemonths*, the Sircar will come soon, perhaps, and then we shall get what he pleases to bring.' The *Sircar!* this is the fly in the pot of ointment.

"On the other estate there were traces of better days, and the Ryots stated that they had done well, 'when the Sahib (the English proprietor) was in life,' and himself listened to the story of their wants and successes; then, they said, 'we were happy, but now the Sahib listens through the Sircar, and we have no hope. He is kind to us, but we never see him; we only see the Sircar, and he does with us and the lands as he pleases. Our lands are neglected,—our advance is not forthcoming,—and we are dispirited. What is it to us what becomes of us now?'"

Many remedies have been suggested to remove this wretched state of the population, and one of these proposed by the Rev. Mr. Hill, deserves to be brought into practice. This gentleman recommends that a Zemindary be purchased by a society, to be called *The Christian Landholder's Society*, having as its sole object the benefit of the Ryots, as the object of the existing "Landholder's Society" is exclusively the advantage of its members.

At present, conversion to Christianity from Hindooism is prevented most powerfully by the persecution and loss of property to which it subjects the convert, according to Hindoo laws. Many natives, converts in heart to our religion, have acknowledged to me that they were deterred from its open profession solely by the ruin to which such an avowal would subject them.

The Hindoo law decrees that such apostates from the religion of Bramah, forfeit all

their landed property, become incapable of inheritance, and are outlaws and outcasts. A regulation of Lord W. Bentinck's neutralized, in some measure, this law which would bind its slaves either to ignorance or hypocrisy; but that regulation does not effectually protect the native convert, and the following instances related by Mr. Hill, are unexaggerated examples of many cases which came to my knowledge, in Calcutta.

A Hindoo youth desired to be baptized, but added, "in that event, can any of my relatives seize my property?" An answer to this query was sought from the highest authority, who replied that, although the regulation passed by Lord W. Bentinck would, in the end, protect the youth, yet his relatives would have recourse to such artifices, and pursue him so pertinaciously with litigation, that he must advise the youth to sell his landed estates before his desire for baptism could be known.

If the young convert had done this, and for all similarly situated, such a Zemindary as that proposed by Mr. Hill would offer a refuge to which they might flee, with the certainty of obtaining that protection from persecution, and that means of obtaining a livelihood, which, under existing circumstances, are so withheld from them by the bigoted persecution and annoyances of unconverted relatives and neighbours. In such a Zemindary they would be surrounded by those of a kindred spirit.

Such protection is not the only benefit derivable from a Zemindary so established, for it would be an effective agent, also, in demonstrating that under a just system of management, the jumma (government land-tax) need never be in arrear, and yet the Ryot be enabled to become independent and comparatively rich.

The strengthening which such a demonstration would afford to the hands of our

government in India, whilst carrying out the much coveted reform of the Zemindary system, is at once evident.

M. Lavoisier's farm, which he cultivated upon scientific principles, was an unanswerable replication to those who said chemistry could do nothing for agriculture. "Come to *my* château—my crops double in their returns those of my neighbours."

This was Lavoisier's *argumentum ad hominem*, more efficient than all the world's logic, for "seeing *is* believing" with the most ignorant, as well as with the most knowing. So, if a Zemindary could be referred to which never failed in paying its *quota* of taxation, yet in which the Ryots were thriving and unoppressed, the equally silencing answer to those who now say, "Oh! it is the degraded people, not the system, which causes their poverty,"—would be a paraphrase of Lavoisier's reply—"Come and look at *our* Zemindary."

The curse of India, as already observed, is the poverty of the bulk of the people; for poverty, in a nation whose very religion inculcates vice, is a fearful dictator. But this poverty is a curse in other modes. Thus it renders the Ryot the victim of the usurer, to whom he is compelled by it to apply for the very means of cultivating his scanty amount of bigahs.

It matters not whether the usurer and the Zemindar, as is usually the case, are one person, the effect is the same—or, indeed, worse;—for, were they different individuals, the Ryot might be protected and benefited by the conflict of their antagonist interests. As it is, ground down by his landlord for rent; ground down for the fifty per cent. usury on the money advanced; ground down by the priests' and the village dues; and ground down by extorted presents when the Zemindar requires to make, for his own plea-

sure, an extra expenditure; is it a wonder that India's people, who are her Ryots, should be such an impoverished, degraded race? Rather, is it a wonder that they are no worse; for the man, so overwhelmed with enforced poverty as barely to have left to him wherewithal to support life, and who is engaged in perpetual recourses to knavery and falsehood to evade to the utmost the harassing extortioners I have enumerated, can have little leisure, little inclination, and no means, whereby he can attain to anything likely to elevate him further above the beasts he goads, and is, in turn, obliged to starve.

To demonstrate that the exactions under which the Ryot suffers are not capable of reprehension only so long as kept indistinct by dealing with them generally, let the following particulars be examined. The Ryot's heap of grain (rice, dahl, &c.), usually

amounts to about 3000 seers, of which is set apart:

| | |
|---|---|
| For the gods, or rather for the priests . . | 5 seers. |
| — charity to the Brahmins and other mendicants | 5 |
| — the astrologer . . . . . | 1 |
| — the hereditary Brahmin of the village . . | 1 |
| — the barber . . . . . | 2 |
| — the potter . . . . . | 2 |
| — the carpenter and blacksmith . . . | 2 |
| — the measurer . . . . . | 4 |
| — the washerwoman . . . . . | 2 |
| — the chuprassee (beadle) . . . . | 7 |
| — the chief of the village . . . . | 53 |
| — the accountant . . . . . | 200 |
| — the watchman . . . . . | 10 |
| — the conductor of water (irrigator) . . | 20 |
| | 314 |

These deductions leave a residue of 2686 seers, from which government takes first ten per cent., and then half the residue; so that, when all exactions have been satisfied, except those of *the usurer* and the *ad libitum* claims of the Zemindar, the Ryot has left for himself rather more than *one-third* of his crop.

From a large amount of the above enu-

merated payments, and from all the extortions, a Zemindary, managed as proposed by Mr. Hill, would shelter the Ryots. This would rescue them from their usual extreme poverty, and, being so saved, they would gradually become as much elevated above the Ryots of neighbouring Zemindaries, as are, from very similar causes, the peasantry of England and Scotland, superior to the peasantry of Ireland.

A Zemindary so conducted would be a mean, the most efficient, for effecting the introduction of agricultural improvements. The Ryot there would have removed from him that incubus, the certain knowledge that extortion would keep pace with the increased productiveness of his land. At present, if improvement be suggested to the Ryot, he invariably replies, "What for? It matters not whether my bigahs produce ten, or one hundred maunds, for no more than three would be left me."

Poverty will be perceived, even by those the least informed concerning Indian affairs, to be the immediate cause of the degraded state of the people; but the proximate cause is the gross, long-enduring ignorance, pervading every class of the native community.

If we inquire why the high-caste natives scorn the pursuit, and despise the practitioners of agriculture? If we inquire why more roads have not been constructed? Why every agricultural practice is imperfectly accomplished? Why every agricultural animal is deficient in essential points? Why the greatest possible amount of labour is wasted? Why the least possible produce is grown on a given space? Why the last possible *pice* is extorted from the Ryot?* If answers be sought to these queries, they will be found in one fact—ignorance still densely envelopes the community.

* *Pice*, a small copper coin, the one sixty-fourth part of a rupee, or somewhat more than a farthing.

Intimately connected with the welfare of the Ryots of India is the question so virulently contested, "Should the emigration of Coolies be permitted to the Mauritius?"* On no subject, until lately, did more ignorance, or more prejudice exist; but we have a body of evidence now, that precludes any possibility of misapprehension.

The "Cooley Committee," which sat at Calcutta, were equally divided in coming to opposite conclusions—three of the members being opposed to the permission of emigration, and three in favour of its being allowed; but whoever will read their separate reports, and the body of evidence which preceded them, can have no difficulty in determining that the opponents of emigration gave way, unwarrantably, to preconceived prejudices. The best excuse that can be pleaded for them is, that they gave way to an amiable fear: they found that some of the Cooley

* Cooley, a labourer.

emigrants had been ill-used, and thence, illogically, concluded that their emigration should be prohibited.

Those who oppose such emigration have endeavoured also to raise a doubt as to there being a superabundant supply of labourers in India; to which the obvious reply arises, then there will be no emigration, even if it be permitted. But it is a fact beyond dispute, that there is a superfluous population at present, in proof of which, no more need be advanced than that the superfluity was so great in Peninsular India during the November of 1840, that large bodies of labourers emigrated, *in search of employment*, to the only open market for their services, Moulmein.

Having removed these incidental objections, it remains to be observed, that to the Indian labourer we have no right to say, "You shall not carry your labour to the best market," and that the best market available

to him is the Mauritius, is acknowledged even by those members of the committee whose report condemns their emigration thither. "It is clear," are its words, "that if the contracts be fulfilled with perfect good faith, the individual Cooley temporarily betters his condition by emigrating to the Mauritius, because he gets higher money wages and food, and clothing found him beside, though he has to work harder (than in India)."

But above all other evidence, and putting to flight all pretence for doubt, is the testimony of the Coolies themselves. Hundreds of them returned whilst I was resident at Calcutta, all having saved some money, in many instances so much as three hundred rupees, and in some cases even more, being absolutely fortunes to them, and which, if they had remained in India, they would never have acquired by any possible labour they might have undergone.

This evidence admits of no suspicion—every Cooley was examined separately and publicly, in the presence of the Calcutta chief magistrate, attended by the private secretary of either Lord Auckland or of Lord Ellenborough. All agreed in commending the emigration, and in testifying that every Cooley was benefited in proportion to his own good habits and exertions.

The following was the evidence given by one Cooley, examined in the mode I have mentioned, in January, 1841. He was one of fourteen who gave perfectly concordant testimony.

*Gooroodzal* saith, "I left Calcutta six years ago. I went from Gillander's house with thirty others, to the estate of Mr. Gilfish. Mr. Raddell worked us (was overseer), and gave us a chit (written character) when we came away. I have about one hundred and fifty rupees. The country is very dear. I was a Sirdar (captain of a gang), and got

seven rupees a month. I used to get six rupees into hand, one rupee being kept by the police.* Our business was planting of sugar-cane. Besides the above, we got as rations, as part of our pay, dholl, rice and ghee (clarified butter), and salt at will.

"We bought greens and tobacco from our own money. We had one glass of spirits a-day, and two suits of clothes a-year. If it be my pleasure I will go back (to Mauritius). The place is a very nice place, very little sickness, and very fine water. They exact hard labour. We were offered higher wages, even double, when our five years were out, but we wanted to see our children, and so came back.

"Out of our original number of thirty persons, eighteen are now here, three died, and nine are still with Mr. Gilfish. They

* This was deducted monthly, according to the government regulation, for the purpose of defraying the Cooley's passage home again.

get ten rupees pay now, and the same rations as before. Our passage back and rations were paid for by our master (out of the monthly rupee deducted from their wages). We once had a complaint at the police against our overseer. He was sent away, and then the allowance was complete. I have not sent anything to my family all this time."*

In the December of 1840, I had the opportunity of conversing with a medical gentleman named Frith, just returned from a long visit to the Mauritius, and the information he gave had fully prepared me to expect the above evidence. He is a man of intelligence, perfectly unconnected with the planters of the island, and without any interest, immediate or remote, in the emigration of the Coolies. He had visited many of the sugar plantations, conversed unreservedly with the Coolies, and met with no complaints,

* Mr. M'Farlan's official report.

except from those who were acknowledgedly drunkards.

The resolution generally expressed by the Coolies was, to renew their engagements with the planters, at the expiration of those then existing; and even those who purposed returning to India, declared that they would not do so *if they had been permitted to bring their families with them.*

Mr. Frith said that the Coolies appeared, in general, fat; and expressed themselves as perfectly contented. They soon ascertain how much their services are valued, and, consequently, there was an independence of demeanour, and a total freedom from that servility of manner, which is so markedly upon them in India.

How much they are guarded in Mauritius from oppression; how readily they can appeal to the magistrate; and how carefully, for their own interest's sake, the planters avoid punishing them, appeared from many

cases within my informant's own knowledge. Thus, a planter struck a Cooley for insolence, and the latter immediately obtained a summons against his master, and for the attendance of the requisite witnesses. Now, the loss of their labour would have been more serious than the probable amount of the fine, so the master confessed the assault to the magistrate, and was mulcted without demur rather than have the work on his plantation interrupted.

In another case, a Cooley was sent to the hospital by his master, and was kept there, against his will, by the medical superintendant, Dr. Rogers. The Cooley, when allowed to leave the hospital, immediately summoned his master before Mr. Fitzpatrick, the magistrate, who fined him five dollars! Whether this decision was just or unjust, need not here be questioned, but it shows that the interests and liberty of the emigrant Cooley are sedulously guarded.

As evidence of the same fact, Mr. Frith mentioned, especially, the Coolies on the plantation of Mr. Bullen. This planter, at their request, places their money in the island's saving bank. Mr. Frith saw each Cooley's book, and found from these that their savings varied from one hundred to as much as five hundred rupees. Lastly, in the same ship with my informant, a Cooley returned from Mauritius to Calcutta. He had been in the employment of Dr. Ulcog, who cultivates sugar largely ; and this Cooley had conducted himself so well, that his master remitted him fourteen months of his contract period of servitude, for the purpose of employing him in persuading others of his countrymen to return with him to the Mauritius.

Another subject connected with the labouring classes of India remains for me to notice, and that is, slavery. The very able minute, written by Lord Auckland upon this subject,

has now been published, and enables me to curtail much of what I should otherwise have stated; for the opinions and facts announced in that paper are almost entirely coincident with those which I have gathered into my note-book.

Slavery in India is not like the slavery of the West Indies and America, the latter kind of servitude being practically unknown in Hindostan. The slavery of India is that imposed by the laws of caste; and those who know the country, know that no emancipation act could break down the prejudices and deeply-rooted habits upon which that is sustained. To abolish the law of caste, would be to subvert the whole Hindoo religion, and this must be left to the silent influence of education and Christianity.

The domestic slaves of India, for slaves they must be called in the want of a fitter term, are in a servitude closely resembling that of some of the serfs of the Anglo-Saxons,

and subject to similar rules. The master is bound to support them and their families, and they and their offspring marry and reside in and about the family dwelling-house, without one thought or wish ever arising among them of quitting their master's service, or that such servitude is a hardship. It is like, in its consequences, all domestic service in India, being servitude without labour; and is looked upon by all parties as a dutiful assistance afforded to their native master, and as no more than is imposed by their religion. Under these circumstances, (as to abolish Hindooism by a legal enactment is out of the question,) the only mode of giving that protection to the Indian domestic slave which he does not at present possess, is to adopt Lord Auckland's suggestion, and, by a special law, to declare that, "Any act which would be an offence if done to a freeman, shall be equally an offence if done to a slave; or, rather, to any one in

any condition of dependence on a master ;" and that, "no rights claimed as arising out of an alleged state of slavery shall be enforced by a magistrate."

This would effect, without avowal, the abolition of slavery, for they cannot be slaves who are declared to have lost none of the rights of freemen; and, under the law thus established, no servant need unwillingly remain with a master, and no master could, without being punishable, ill-use his servant, or have any absolute command over either his person or property. Self-interest would secure kind treatment to the domestics—slaves only in name;—for, if a contrary treatment were adopted, and the domestic absconded, the master would be remediless; and if the injured domestic sought retribution upon his master from the law, the master would be amerced, or punished, as much as if he had offended similarly against any other individual.

The worst kind of slavery existing in India arises from the power given to parents over their children by the Hindoo law, whence arises the enormous abuse which exists of selling them for the purposes of prostitution. It occurs to a frightful extent even in Calcutta, and is one of the many horrid consequences of that religion which teaches that profligacy is pleasing even to deities.

I know that this horrid custom exists, from the concurrent testimonies of missionaries, magistrates, and natives of the highest trustworthiness. Indeed, it is denied by none. Against this power of selling children, an act totally prohibitory should be directed; and I differ from Lord Auckland entirely, when he considers that an exception should be made in favour of cases where the sales are the consequence of seasons of famine. Never can I admit that such an exception is permissible in any form—any

more than when famine stalks through Ireland its people should be allowed to sell their offspring to alleviate their necessities.

It would be far better to allow whole families to sell themselves, than to permit—to expressly legalize—a practice tending, more than any other, to degrade the human mind, by setting at nought sympathies and affections which even inspire and control the very brutes. Rather let magistrates, for the time, sacrifice the whole revenue of a district, to supply food to those who have no other resource whereby to escape from starvation than by vending their children; but never let such a permission as that proposed by Lord Auckland stand recorded in a British act of legislature, as a sole exception to our universal condemnation of the traffic in human flesh.

# CHAPTER III.

## NATIVE EDUCATION.

General Assembly's and other Religious Schools—Government Schools—Hindoo Objections to Christianity being Taught—Duty of an Intruding Government—Deplorable Ignorance of Native Women—Hindoo Law Degrades them—Its Consequences—Rev. Khrishna Mohana Banerjea—Education of his Wife—Prosonocomah Tagore's Daughter—Importance of Native Female Education—Re-marriage of Hindoo Widows—Consequences of its Illegality—Medical College at Calcutta—Its great Benefits—The Committee of Public Instruction—Lord Auckland's Attention to Education—The Brahmins' Efforts to sustain Hindooism.

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## CHAPTER III.

### NATIVE EDUCATION.

NUMEROUS are the schools in Calcutta and its vicinity for the education of the native boys, all of them supported by *private* subscription, and embracing in their course of instruction more or less of a knowledge of Christianity. Foremost among these is the General Assembly's Institution, first organized in 1830, in connection with the missionary plans of the church of Scotland. From the first it was destined to consist of two departments: the one preparatory, the other of a higher or collegiate

order. The object of the former is to initiate the pupils into the elements of grammar, history, chronology, geography, arithmetic and geometry, in inseparable conjunction with the principles of the Christian faith. The object of the latter is to perfect an acquaintance with the branches previously acquired; and to embrace more or less extensively, as growing circumstances may admit, the various higher departments of literature, science, and Christian theology.

Such a system, supported by *private individuals*, has my unqualified approval; and founded, sustained, and superintended by Christian missionaries, it is the system of all others which should be most advocated. But the duty is not incumbent upon the Christian clergy only; it is incumbent upon every Christian man to promote, in his private capacity, the diffusion of a knowledge of that religion which he conscientiously

believes—nay, knows, is best calculated to render mankind happy in time, as well as throughout the countless ages of eternity.

As the light of European knowledge is gradually extended over benighted India, and as the clouds of error and prejudice are dispelled by its aid, so, I am convinced, will the system pursued at the General Assembly's school—"the intimate blending of a sound secular instruction with a well-grounded moral and religious education,"—be that which will then be generally sought for.

I feel assured of this, because I believe Christianity is truth, and that truth always will be chosen in preference to error by every mind qualified to judge between them. Having this conviction, I have always rejoiced over the prosperity of these private seminaries in India, in which, while science and worldly wisdom are not neglected, "the truth as it is in Jesus" is taught, "to the

edification and salvation of souls;" for here are prepared those who go forth among their native friends, relatives, and dependants, forming centres from which will be dispersed seed, that will not fail to produce its harvest in due season.

Whilst I rejoice over these private institutions,—whilst I hope, and indeed am convinced, that the time is at hand when Hindoo parents will seek for these, and such schools as these, whither to send their children,—whilst I am quite aware, and am glad that eight or nine hundred pupils even now are permitted by their friends to attend an institution where Christianity is systematically unfolded, yet I cannot hide from myself the truth, that where there is one Hindoo parent who gives this permission, there are a thousand who refuse such assent. The mass of the people, be they of the highest or lowest classes, object to have their children taught a religion different from their own;

and those who do so object, must be acknowledged to be blameless; for he who will let his child incur the risk of conversion to a religion he believes to be false, is one of those miserable beings who see nothing in the doctrine of an hereafter, even supposing it to be true.

It is undeniably the fact that the vast majority of the people of India refuse and reject Christian instruction, and this renders it (to say nothing of the obligation of treaties,) both wise and imperative upon the Indian government to support those systems of national education only, which are entirely separated from such instruction. It is the duty of a government, and especially of an intruding government like ours in India, to respect the institutions and prejudices of the natives, so far as this can be done without allowing a violation of the universal rights and objects of all society. This brings us to the real question at issue in this subject,

which, in 1841, was so fiercely agitated in Calcutta. The question is, supposing the mass of a people refuse to receive instruction tinctured with the religion of their rulers, are those rulers to withhold all aid to impart to the people the least objectionable instruction that they will receive? I think, most assuredly not.

Let it be admitted, as Lord Auckland admits in his education minute, that there are radical errors and deficiencies in the Oriental system. Yet let it be acknowledged, with reciprocal fairness, that it tends to foster reflection, diligence, honorable emulation, and moral elevation; "though its practical effect is too frequently marred by the domestic and social habits of Oriental life;" but this no education, will amend until another generation is passed away. To such a system, I am certain the government of India is bound to afford its aid, so long as it is asked for at its hands.

That the people will not receive the best instruction, is no justification for the government saying, "We will not afford you aid to obtain any; the people will not receive the more worthy, therefore, they shall not have that which is less worthy." So far from admitting this to be a sound reason, I think that the preference by the people of the less sound educational system, is an additional reason for the government to retain a supervising influence over this inferior plan, and exert itself to mitigate, and gradually eradicate, those parts which are objectionable. The Indian government, during Lord Auckland's reign, kept this steadily in view, and his lordship thus expresses himself on the point:—"I would, from the funds which have before been allowed, assist them in any judicious plans for ameliorating the course of study, as by aiding the publication of works which may seem likely to be decidedly useful to the students."

In all that has been urged against such a system of equitable treatment of the national prejudices, this most important consideration, that the Indian government is not that chosen by the people, has been lost sight of. We have gone thither uninvited—have established ourselves by a strong arm—and if there be any rule of universal policy, it is that which says, the conqueror has no right to disturb the laws and public institutions of the country subjugated. As an intruding power, we are called upon to appropriate a portion of the revenue derived from those upon whom we have intruded, to the support of their schools, in the same manner as we recognise and maintain their laws.

By the universal acknowledgment of writers upon political philosophy, political ethics, and the law of nations, the conquering, the intruding government, has no right to abrogate the laws, or alter the institutions of the conquered country; but its duty is to govern

it in every respect as it could have been governed by the most enlightened native supreme power. This has been regarded most strictly in every particular by the British government in its rule over India.

The Mohamedan and Hindoo laws and customs, contrary as they are, in many instances, to justice and common sense, have not only been tolerated, but moulvies and pundits are supported and attached to all the courts of law to expound and declare them. Such officials could not be obtained but by upholding the Oriental system of education; and that system would have been upheld by any native government. It is to be deplored that it embraces scientific and religious doctrines irreconcileable with our own; but the Indian government has been enabled to super-add to the native system, educational institutions, where better knowledge and truer science is offered to the people; and it has been further able to improve, and will

still more ameliorate, the Oriental system itself.

Thus has our Indian government been able to follow out the dictates of justice. The instruction has been given to the people, which was undertaken to be afforded when that government assumed the rule, yet better knowledge has been freely offered at the same time. Native institutions have been upheld, but others have been established and proffered to impart the more perfect and sound learning of the west.

Those who oppose this attention to the national opinions and rights, do so because they would have Christianity thrust upon the natives. They would, if they could, have their system carried out in all its tyranny of spirit (which, however, they do not see is the actuating principle); they would have no school permitted in which the Christian faith is not made a fundamental part of the instruction given. "We will

not," say they, "stretch out a finger to help them to knowledge, unless with it they consent to learn our religion." To such a doctrine of Rome's worst days, I shall never subscribe. It is a doctrine pregnant with persecution, and but one step removed from that against which our reformers so nobly suffered, and so bravely died. They poured out their blood in opposing those who said, "You *shall* think as we think;" whilst those who resist giving instruction unblended with Christianity, to the Hindoo and Mussulman, stop just short of that bloody doctrine, and at present rest contented with saying, "You must die in ignorance if you will not think as we think."

Lamentably deficient in sound knowledge as are almost the entire male population of India, and urgent as are their claims for a better education, yet still louder is the call upon British philanthropy and justice to provide instruction for the women of that coun-

try, for at present they are sunk in the lowest depths of ignorance and sensuality. Such could not fail of being the case, considering that it is impossible to conceive a more systematic combination of rules—a more deliberate effort—not only to degrade woman, but to make her bow down before the full consciousness and conviction that she is of a baser and more degraded nature than "her master," than pervades the whole writings of the most respected lawgivers, and the most revered Shasters of the Hindoo economy.

She enters life stamped as more impure than her brethren, for her mother has to endure ten* more days of expiation or purification than after the birth of a son, as if the very act of bringing her into existence was a cause for sorrow and humiliation. No rejoicing attends her birth, as upon that of

* This would be of little moment, if her treatment in after life was not so atrocious. A similar increased time of purification, after the birth of a female child, was prescribed in the Mosaic Law. *Vide* Leviticus, xii.

her brother, and even the benediction which is invoked from Shashti, the dispenser of blessings, upon a male infant, is never sought for a daughter. The strict injunctions impressed upon the Hindoo parent to initiate the son in learning, and to devote him at five years of age to the service of *Saraswati*, the Hindoo Minerva, are not applicable to the daughter; for not only are there no instructions on the subject, but she is forbidden to learn the Sanscrit grammar, and is commanded not even to hear, much more not to read, the sacred Veds. As lengthened custom rendered even crime meritorious with the Spartans, so, among the Hindoos, "it is now considered almost disreputable to afford women the blessings of education."

Following her from infancy to opening maturity, custom still pursues the system which appears contrived for her special degradation. Branded as a source of regret and impurity, rather than of joy, and doomed

to ignorance, she is now taught that freedom of choice, even in that with which is involved her life's happiness, is not for her to exercise; for, married in childhood, she is consigned at the earliest fitting age to her husband, and, however her heart may incline to another, she is borne, without any alternative but self murder, to the nuptial bed, and to live in a state which is, in truth, no better than legalized prostitution.

The zenana, which she has now reached, is her last prison-house on this side the grave; and there, with mind uncultivated, totally shut out from society, and abandoned to the desires and caprices of her husband, she every year becomes more frivolous and more animalized, and every to-morrow is as the day which preceded it, but that it finds her still more degraded. How could it be otherwise, when she is made to feel by the fact, that she is or will be, only one of several wives, that it is her person only which her owner covets;

and, when he dies, she is taught that she is so worthless, so unworthy of any further peace or happiness, that the best course to pursue, is to burn herself with his corpse. If she refrain from this, she must remain a widow, self-tormenting, and abstaining even from the merest comforts of life; and, instead of being capable of managing her own affairs, she is now consigned to the governance of her male relatives, *Menu*, their sacred lawgiver, directing that "in childhood a female must be dependant upon her father; in youth upon her husband; and, her lord being dead, on her sons—*a woman must never see independence.*"

Such is the condition of the Hindoo women—such the system which necessarily creates the narrow-minded, licentious, Hindoo mother. Ah! "mother!"—there is the mischief. If she rusted out in her own ignorance and sensuality—if the mischief extended no further than her own case, deplorable as it would still be, it would demand less regret; but such

a creature has to be the first *instructress* of her children! Unfortunately, most true is it, that not every good, highly cultivated, and noble-minded mother, succeeds in giving to the world her children as estimable as herself; but it is equally true that very few really great characters ever shone forth, who did not receive their first bias—gathered their first illumination—from their mother's precepts and example. To the degraded state of the mothers of India, I attribute the fact, so undeniable, that it has never given birth to one truly great character.

Into the Saturnalia of the zenana no European has ever penetrated, but we have this portraiture from the pen of the Rev. Krishna Mohana Banerjea, an exemplary Christian now, but once a member of the highest Hindoo caste, the Koolin Brahmins, and who, consequently, had every opportunity of mingling with Hindoo families closely and intimately.

"The Hindoo mother is incapable of con-

ferring on her children, in any measure, the blessings of education, and never dreams of training them up 'in the way they should go.' As to exercising a salutary influence and discipline over them — her *own* ideas of moral responsibility being vague— she expresses no solicitude about their actions being governed by principles; and, since scarcely any of those crimes to which flesh and blood are most prone are held disreputable in Hindoo society, she seldom feels anxious to guard them against leading impure lives. She allows them to strengthen and grow up in immoral habits, (such, for instance, as lying and obscene language,) and can form no conception of subjecting them to a course of moral restraint. Nor are her children only *passively* suffered to grow wild, in a moral and intellectual point of view, but they are also actually taught things which their tutors would afterwards have them unlearn. She scruples not to avail

herself of false promises and threats in the management of them; and is not very cautious in avoiding the use of indecent and indelicate language in their hearing."

Such is the picture drawn by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, in his Prize Essay on *Native Female Education*, being himself a memorable example of what a sound course of instruction will effect upon the Hindoo mind. Himself of the highest caste,—instructed in all the learning of his people,—he nevertheless obtained such better knowledge from the English masters of the Hindoo College that, despising the disgrace and persecution he secured to himself by the declaration, he openly professed his contempt of Hindooism. He became a sceptic, and actually established a periodical advocating infidelity; but he was a searcher after truth; gradually became illumined by the light of Christianity, and is now an able and indefatigable preacher of its truths to his native brethren. He was

ordained in 1837, and derives his salary from the Begum Sumroo fund for the support of a native missionary.

He is altogether a remarkable character; and to see him, with his mild benevolent countenance, dressed in the sacred vestments, announcing the Gospel truths even to Englishmen, in their own language, and in tones untinged by foreign accent, is most gratifying, and always made me feel that I saw before me a lively portraiture of the first promulgators of our faith. His acquirements are varied, yet deep. He has an accurate knowledge of Sanscrit and the other Eastern languages,—of their theology,—of western science,—and accurate biblical learning, derived not merely from the English translation, but from the original records. Yet he is not a mere scholar: he devotes himself to his clerical duties, not only by preaching twice or thrice weekly in his own little church, but in visiting the natives, and in

other modes of diffusing Christianity; and it is gratifying to be able to testify, that the neighbourhood of his church, formerly unapproachable after nightfall, being the resort of the worst characters, is now the abode of peace.

He has also demonstrated how the female mind in the natives can be improved, by the education he has given to his wife. She is a convert from Hindooism, and distinguished for her high propriety of conduct and superiority of attainments. This lady, however, is not the only example of the capability of the Hindoo female mind; and in the essay I have quoted, is given another illustration of what may be effected for the native woman by private tuition, the prejudices of the natives at present forbidding their availing themselves of any public school for their daughters.

The provisions which Baboo Prosonocomah Tagore made for the education of his late

much-lamented daughter, were significant proofs of his sense of paternal duty, as well as of his energy and public spirit; and the happy effects produced by his exertions were illustrative of the practicability of the plan I am recommending. For a Hindoo gentleman, of rank and station, so far to disregard the corrupt prejudices of a bigoted community as to engage a European governess, for the purpose of instructing a female member of his household in the several branches of a liberal education, was no ordinary exhibition of moral fortitude; and the success which crowned his effort was an earnest of what might be expected from similar measures. While alluding to this almost unique example, it becomes extremely melancholy to reflect, that this, the first native lady who had cultivated European letters, had acquired European accomplishments, and to whose instruction large funds had been cheerfully dedicated, should be snatched away in

the prime of life, to the deep affliction of her parents, and the sincere regret of all that have heard of her.

To labour for the diffusion of better knowledge among the native women of India is an object well worthy the first attention of the philanthropists of England. To effect such an elevation will be the greatest movement yet effected for India's regeneration. Some efforts have been making in Calcutta, during the last few years, towards the attainment of this most important end, and some of the customs and prejudices binding down women to rank among "the beasts that perish," are certainly dispelling. Thus I am happy to know that the prejudice against the second marriage of widows—which is, beyond doubt, a very principal source of licentiousness in almost every Hindoo family—is beginning to give way before the light of better knowledge; yet it is far from being dispelled. The prejudice has been so uni-

versally and so long inculcated, that the very women themselves look upon the proposition that "widows may re-marry," as an attempt to degrade them; and it is a literal truth that a widow, who has abandoned herself to prostitution, considers that she has taken a step far less criminal and degrading than if she had engaged in a second matrimonial alliance.

I have had many opportunities of conversing with the students of the Hindoo College upon this point; and, though generally liberal in sentiment, yet on this they invariably expressed a very strong opinion in favour of the prohibitory prejudice. They thought that an infant widow, perhaps, might be permitted to contract with a second husband, but they were inflexible with regard to those marriages which had been consummated. However, the feeling is not so strong on all Hindoo minds, for Baboo Muttyloll Seal has offered to give 10,000 rupees as a

dowry with the first widow that shall break through the pernicious custom; and a very learned Brahmin, lately a minister of the Nagpore Rajah, has written, within these few months, a very excellent treatise, condemning the practice, and demonstrating that from it the Shasters, as well as reason, sanction a departure. To this essay the late and lamented Mr. Wilkinson prefixed an introduction, ably enforcing the same doctrines, and giving irrefutable instances of its evil consequences. Of these I shall only select the following:—

"A Dukhunee Brahmin, of great respectability, of Soneautch, (Sindia Shahee), lost his son, some years since. His son's widow continued to live with him; last year she was seduced, and became pregnant by her father-in-law. The Brahmin was a man of repute as an expounder of the Poorans;* to save his character, he determined to sacri-

* *Poorans*—some of the Hindoo sacred books.

fice his daughter, and got a Byragee to promise to destroy her. She was made over to the Byragee; but, on getting into the wild jungles, she, suspecting some foul play was intended, made an earnest appeal to the Byragee, and vowed that she would become his humble slave-girl, if he would spare her life. He relented, confessed to her the murderous commission he had received, and took her to his own home, in the adjoining district, and reported that he had destroyed and buried her. The Brahmin discovered her concealment, and conceiving that it was incumbent on him to call for the punishment of the Byragee,—while he believed his own high character would protect him from suspicion,—boldly and basely accused the Byragee of seducing and running away with his daughter-in-law. Their counter-assertions caused a lengthened inquiry, which elicited the above facts."

Most anxious as I am to see a wide exten-

sion of education among the natives of India, yet I would impress upon those who are labouring for the elevation of that country, that those who hope to effect, to any great extent, a better mental state among the mass, until their physical condition is improved, know little of human nature. At present, I fear, little of effectual good can be done for the diffusion of moral and high education, except among the first-class natives. This is most important, because such instruction will lead them to the truth, that it is their interest, as well as duty, to improve the condition of their Ryots and other dependants.

But, before education can do much for these last-named classes, they must be extricated from the penury in which they now do little more than vegetate. This, beyond a doubt, is the first great desideratum; for it is certain, from all past experience, that no man will allow his son to attend a school for any time, after he can be useful in cultivat-

ing the plot of ground, or assisting in the trade from which the family are supported, and by pursuing which the father, by his utmost exertions, can scarcely succeed in obtaining sustenance for his family. Yet so situated are the population of India.

The prime object to which the friends of that country should direct their efforts, is towards improving the physical condition of its people; for nothing can divorce ignorance from poverty and misery. It is most laudable to use every effort to educate the leaders of society; it is most praiseworthy to diffuse education as much as possible among the lower classes; it is most laudable to raise up teachers and translators, for the fruit of their labours benefit not only contemporaries, but will survive to the good of future generations: all these attempts are worthy of high commendation. I do not wish to see them less; but it is also desirable that the efforts for the people's physical

regeneration be greater; for this must be effected before the boons offered for their mental improvement can be either fully or generally effective. There must first be more wealth and more comfort among the people, less danger of absolute want, and more independance from the Zemindar's oppression. He who has to labour hard to live, has little either of leisure or inclination for study; and still less if spirit-broken by his superior's tyranny. Wherever a school is established, measures also should be adopted for the improvement of the condition of the people; for nothing is more certain than that plenty and knowledge never advance effectually, except when associated.

One of the benefits conferred by England upon India—one grand advance in the improvement of its physical condition, and it would be of itself a recompense for its conquest—is the establishment of a Medical College at Calcutta. It is an institution upon

which I never think, without the associated remembrance that it is not only gradually supplying India with sound medical assistance; but that, in the imparting of the requisite knowledge to the students, a large volume of the superstition and ignorance which depressed the native mind has been removed. Among the other benefits of which this college has been made the agent, during the last three years, is the furnishing of native doctors for employment with the sepoy regiments, and at Civil stations. These had been usually obtained from the native medical school, established by the late Dr. Tytler, but this being abandoned, the supply of medical aid had ceased, and a demand for such assistance had consequently become urgent.

For supplying this demand, to Doctor O'Shaughnessy was entrusted the formation of a secondary school at the Medical College, and, due notice being given, a very large assemblage of young men, chiefly the sons

of Mahomedan commissioned and non-commissioned officers, applied for admission as pupils. From these, sixty were selected, and ever since there has been an abundance of applications to fill any occurring vacancies.

The general benefits also derived from the Medical College must not be passed over, rendering it, as they do, one of the greatest blessings to Calcutta. The hospital for male and female patients, attached to it, are continually occupied, and it is gratifying to find that the prejudices of caste do not interfere with the association of patients in the same ward, to any inconvenient extent.

About three hundred out-door patients are daily supplied with medicines at the college dispensary; and, I will observe, that I have always heard the professors speak in high terms of the intelligence and industry of the students, eighty in number. I have seen them in the lecture, and in the dissecting-

rooms, and can give my testimony to their general decorous behaviour, and to the skill and adroitness with which they were demonstrating the anatomy of the subject under the dissecting-knife. Students resort hither from Ceylon and other distant parts of India.

The efforts of the government for the advancement of education among the natives, was, until the commencement of 1842, confided to a committee of public instruction, composed of gentlemen unconnected with the government, and of which Sir E. Ryan was the chairman; but in the January of this year, the committee was made an integral part of the executive, and its name changed to that of "The Council of Education," of which the senior member of council, Mr. W. Bird, is the president. This change was effected, not from any intention to depart from the policy previously pursued, but because it was justly considered desirable, now that

such large and gradually increased sums of the public money are devoted by government to this national object, that their disbursement should be placed more immediately under the surveillance of its own responsible officers.

That any generally beneficial influence is as yet apparent upon the native morals from the superior education that has been imparted to the people, would be absurd to expect; for it is, as yet, but as the addition of one ray of light to diminish the night's darkness; but of what it will be capable of effecting gradually, is demonstrated by its triumph, already, over two of the most inveterate prejudices of the Hindoos—the repugnance of a high caste native to touch a dead body, owing to the supposed consequent defilement —and the pride of caste, which forbade those of supposed higher grade in the human scale associating in any way with those whom the laws of Brahmah have declared to be lower and baser.

Professor Goodeve, at the last examination (in 1842), of the students of the Medical College, observed, relative to the first point, and speaking of the anatomical course, that "Men of high caste and good family are now pursuing a study, which, but a very short time since, was nearly an insuperable barrier to the acquisition of medical knowledge, as though among the more civilized and enlightened nations of the western world."

Upon the second point, it is sufficient for me to observe, that so entirely has the pride of caste given way, that I have seen, at the Hindoo college, a son of the Rajah Vizagepatam studying in the same class with the sons of soudras and petty shop-keepers.

Connected with the triumph over the prejudice which has so long impeded all progress in a knowledge of anatomy among the natives, is another, commencing over another still more strongly fortified prejudice, which forbids medical aid being rendered by efficient

practitioners to the native women, in the hour of their most extreme need. The consequence of this prejudice is frightful, for it is well ascertained that of every one hundred native women, full twenty die in childbirth, owing to the total ignorance of their attendants. To remedy this, a midwifery ward has been added to the Medical College, and I rejoiced to hear, before I left Calcutta, that although then opened only six months, the number of patients admitted equalled in number those of the Westminster Lying-in-Hospital; and the deaths, instead of twenty, were only three per cent!

Lord Auckland was unremitting in his care of the various educational institutions of India, but above all, he regarded the Medical College with especial watchfulness and anxiety to promote its interests. He invariably attended, when in Calcutta, at the annual examination of the students; and, in 1842, when taking his farewell, told them

that he considered their college the most important and interesting of all the institutions which had been founded by the government for the purpose of education.

It has opened, also, to the natives a new source of honorable livelihood; and whereas the sons of respectable Hindoo parents aspired, until lately, to no higher employment than that of a clerkship, they are now enabled to enter upon the practice of medicine; and how advantageous this is found to be, may be estimated from more than one of the passed students of the college declining to accept employment as medical assistants in the service of government, but have established dispensaries in various parts of Calcutta, not only successfully for their own emolument, but to the great advantage of the native community.

The facility with which the natives acquire the English language, is very striking; not merely in the compositions and conversations

of such as are students of the Hindoo college, but in the readiness with which even the most illiterate attain to an easy comprehension of those who speak to them in that tongue. Many of them, however, undertake to write it, who afford very lucid illustrations of the apothegm "a little learning is a dangerous thing," for every master occasionally receives petitions from his domestics relative to some fancied grievance, containing the most farcical errors; and even those who undertake to write English for public inspection, are not altogether competent to the work. The names, &c., written over the native shops, are generally highly ludicrous. Thus, a craftsman who wished not only to inform Calcutta of his trade, but that he had practised in the Western Presidency, has this on his sign-board—"Dadabhoy, carpenter at Bombay."

It must not be supposed that while our missionaries are exerting themselves for the

propagation of Christianity, and while the press and the Indian legislature are straining every nerve to exterminate the most baneful ordinances of the Hindoo creed, that the Brahmin professors of the latter are totally slumbering. They feel, as superior education is diffused among them, that their vice-fostering idolatry is untenable, yet some still dare to stand forward in support of "the things of old."

Among these is an association called the *Tathobodhani Subha*, established in 1840, which publishes pamphlets occasionally, containing expositions of the Vedant system. The popular belief of the natives is that the doctrines of the Vedant creed, propounded by the ancient sages of India, are the most sublime and best adapted to instil into the minds of men right principles of action. The pamphlets in question are probably issued in the hope of giving that creed a pro-

minence in the religious belief of the natives, from which it has been separated ever since the days of the late Rajah Rahmohun Roy, who was the main-stay, the rallying point of the Vedant party in Calcutta.

# CHAPTER IV.

## LITERATURE AND THE ARTS.

Native Copyists—Native Doctors—The Pundits—Native Literature—Societies—Landholders' Society—Dhurma Subha Daishu Taishunee Subhah—Sungeed Society—Society for the Acquisition of Knowledge—English Literature, &c. in India—Mr. Hodgson—Dr. Helfer—Lord Auckland's Scientific Soirées—Magnetic Observatories in India—The Garden of Stars—Miss Roberts; her Life and Writings—The Indian Newspapers, Native and English — Mr. Kaye — Captain Richardson—Modes of obtaining Intelligence—Missionary Presses—Architects.

## CHAPTER IV.

### LITERATURE AND THE ARTS.

No people in the world are better copyists than the natives of Hindostan. Their painters will give the most faithful representations of any object that is set before them; their craftsmen will build a carriage, or construct a piece of furniture, the facsimile of any given model; and their dirzies will actually make any garment, however intricate may be the workmanship, provided they have a pattern to work by. These facts demonstrate their powers of execution; and there is abundant evidence in India, from the magnificent Tarj at Agra to the every

day trinkets of their women, showing that, with sufficient encouragement, their taste for design would soon be equally distinguished for its excellence. Upon this subject, however, I have already descanted; therefore, turning to the state of philosophy and natural science among them, it may be generally observed that in these the natives are fearfully dark.

The ignorance of their doctors—those who have had no instruction from European professors—is most appalling; and no wonder, for their medical manuscripts show that they have no rational idea of medicines or their operation, and quite as little of the causes of disease. I have had abundant opportunities of hearing this ignorance exposed by native practitioners who have been examined in the witness-box of the Supreme Court, and can unreservedly say that the want of knowledge betrayed was always profound. Thus, in a trial relative to the

murder of a woman by unskilful treatment during her accouchment, it was stated by three witnesses to be their usual practice, when the labour was protracted, to force the patient from her couch, and drag her about the room by her hair!

Fever they attribute, in all instances, to the patient's exposure to cold, and as invariably administer a compound of stimulating drugs, which they term *pachan*, producing extra-excitement and inflammation.

Again, upon the occasion of an issue to try whether a child was born blind, it was ludicrous, not so much to hear the conflicting evidence as to whether or not the infant was so afflicted, as the reasons assigned by the native practitioners for their several opinions. The point was important, for if the infant had the power of vision for only a few hours, or even minutes, it would not fall within the disinheriting rule of the Hindoo law relative to blindness. This law

of disherison consequent on such a privation, prevails in almost all Eastern countries, and accounts for the despotic deprivation of sight which so many tyrants, upon their accession to the throne, have inflicted upon their relatives.

The most learned men among the Hindoos are their pundits, the interpreters of their laws; but their mere priests, those of the Brahmins who attend upon their sacred rites, are proverbially ignorant and immoral.

In literature, the natives hitherto have made small progress, yet there are those peculiarities in their mental qualifications, which are necessary before excellence as an author can be attained. At present these peculiarities often exhibit themselves eccentrically. Thus a leading feature of every Hindoo mind being the desire of notoriety, and the possession of a good education being so rare among them, every one who has received this from the Hindoo college, or the

General Assembly's school, thinks himself vastly superior to the community with which he associates, and that he is quite capable of correcting their ignorance, and giving them good information concerning all things.

This, united with the cheapness with which native printers and paper may be obtained, is the cause of so many journals being established and supported. I have before me a list of nearly twenty which have been commenced and failed; and another list of nine, which continued to be published in the early part of 1842. They are all weekly, their subscription-price varying from four annas to one rupee per month, respectively equal to sixpence and two shillings! and their circulation extends from 500 to about 800. The best of all these, indeed, the leading native journal, is the *Sungbad Poornachan Drodoy* (Full Moon), though its price is the lowest I have named. It contains a considerable amount of news, is enlightened in its obser-

vations, and, as it is not Christian, it merits some praise for being deistical instead of orthodox Hindoo. Its circulation is above 800 weekly.

The character of the native press, with the exception of one or two, is respectable, and has taken a tone of independence in its discussion of public affairs from its brethren of the English press. The first to be established was the *Sumachur Durpun*, published by the Serampore missionaries in 1818, and continued until the end of 1841; but since the freedom of the Indian press was established, they have sprung up and disappeared with equal facility and speed.

I have already noticed that memory and imagination are the most active of the powers of the native mind. It is generally deficient in capacity for deduction, and the higher reasoning qualities. A native can remember facts with most surprising accuracy, and will compose flowing descants upon virtue, but

more rarely can he either judge with accuracy, or reason correctly. This is evinced by the answers given generally at the various annual educational examinations.

It is further instanced by the various associations in which the natives combine: these all evince miserable deficiency in judgment. Those who are members of the Agricultural and Asiatic Societies, are very few in number, and never attend their meetings. The *Landholders' Society* has no other object than to increase their own incomes, by getting all they can from the Ryots, and yielding as little as possible to the government. The *Dhurma Subha* is an association of the most bigoted Hindoos, to maintain all the absurdities of Hindooism in their integrity, and all this Society's proceedings show a most narrow mind and mistaken judgment in the endeavour to attain its object.

These may be considered as political clubs in some degree, but the only one that I knew

having an exclusively political object, was an abortion called the *Dashu-Taishunee-Subhah* (Society for the Amelioration of India). It held its first meeting in October, 1841, but it was *vox et præterea nihil.* Some resolutions were passed, and some speeches delivered, in which "objects" and "grievances" were announced; but there was nothing specific. Laws tending to occasion and perpetuate political degradation, were denounced, but not one was particularised. It was asked, "Whether the administration of their present rulers will enable the natives to rise in the scale of political greatness?" to which it was answered, "No;" and it might have been qualified by adding, "nor will it be until you are emancipated from the benumbing and fettering ignorance, prejudice, and superstition, by which at present you are trammelled."

The most perfect government which mortal wisdom could devise, the most faultless

administration which the most Utopian ingenuity could imagine, would do nothing to elevate the political condition of a people, while their laws and domestic habits tend to their mental degradation. A nation of poor, ignorant, debauched slaves (I speak of the lower classes), can never acquire political elevation.

One society of a very novel description, among the Hindoos, was established in the January of 1842, by one of their most enlightened men, Baboo Auspootas Day, namely a kind of Almacks, at which, though they do not trip it on the light fantastic toe themselves, yet the most accomplished dancers, or nautch-girls, exhibit for the amusement of the subscribers, and every other entertainment is provided in which the Hindoo may indulge. It is called the *Sungeed* Society, and is supported by some of the leaders of the native community.

The *Dhurma Subha* was instituted just

previously to the abolition of the Suttee rite by the government regulation of December, 1829, and was formed by some high class natives, for the especial purpose of upholding that public mode of murder, and to oppose the passing of that regulation.* Undaunted by its enactment—unmoved by the indignant expressions of the European press—regardless of the execrations which poured from every tongue, expressive of the feelings of the humane in heart, and sound in judgment —that Subha—that black *tribunal*, continued its exertions, and applied to the English authorities for a repeal of the abolition of female cremation. Though that appeal failed, yet the association still exists, has among its members some of the most influential of

* It is a curious fact, that the Dhurma Subha retained an English gentleman, Mr. Bathie, to proceed to London as their agent, in opposing the passing of the regulation in question. The ship (the Alexander) was wrecked, while dropping down the Calcutta river, and the sailors declared it was because "She had a fellow on board who said it was right to burn live women!"

the members of Hindoo society, and has as its fundamental rule, "We will have no connection with those who advocate the abolition of the Suttee rite!" It is a most injurious society, and, to my certain knowledge, occasions much distress and dissention among those against whom it directs its exertions.

One of the most meritorious of the native associations, is the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge. It was founded in 1838, entirely by Hindoo young men, and has published two volumes of "Transactions."* The contents are essays, topographical descriptions, &c., all of a superior character.

Our attention hitherto has been restricted to the mental acquirements and worth of the natives, but we have a more grateful and encouraging prospect when contemplating our countrymen resident in India.

* One published before I left India, and the second since; the latter I have not seen.

No service can boast of a greater abundance of men of science among its members, than that of the East India Company; and it is most gratifying to be able to add, the possession of such knowledge was the best stepping-stone to distinction under Lord Auckland's government. They were employed by his lordship very extensively, in examining the resources of various districts; and the reports which have been lately published are satisfactory evidence that it was labour most beneficially employed. They have added more to our knowledge of the topography and natural resources of India, than had been reaped before during a century.

Besides these, many other gentlemen might be mentioned, who are still adding to the stores of oriental knowledge, as Dr. Wallich, the curator of the botanical garden, and Mr. Hodgson, our resident at the court of Nepaul, who is not only an accomplished naturalist, but a most liberal man, of which

his offer of 5000 rupees towards establishing a normal school for teachers of the vernacular tongue, is a proof. His scientific acquirements are evidenced by his numerous additions to the Fauna of Nepaul. Nor, within the last few years, has India been without examples of men sacrificing their lives for the sake of science: the late Mr. James Princep is well known for his excellence, and early fall in the pursuit of oriental literature; but Dr. Helfer is less known, yet well deserves to have an enduring celebrity.

Of his early history I know little; he arrived in Calcutta about the year 1836, having previously accompanied Col. Chesney from England, in his expedition to survey the course of the Euphrates. From thence he travelled across Persia, and the intermediate districts of India. Of his medical acquirements, little was ascertained in Calcutta, but he was a believer in the homæopathic doctrine; and, therefore, his

bust, probably, is not entitled to a very lofty pedestal among the medical worthies. But of his general acquirements, as a naturalist, their seems no reason to doubt, for they gained to him the patronage of government, and that this was not misplaced, his "Reports on the Natural Resources of the Tenasserian Provinces" are a satisfactory testimony. His researches in that district commenced in 1837, and the first of his reports appeared at the close of that year; the second in the middle of 1838. In 1839, he was employed in examining the Mergui Archipelago, the Andaman and Nicobar islands.

He had hired a small vessel, the *Catherine*, with a Burmese crew, and was examining some of the northern parts of the former group, in the January of 1840, when he was treacherously murdered by the natives. He had proceeded on shore, unarmed, having established, apparently, a friendly intercourse, when he was suddenly seen endeavouring to

swim back to the vessel; but one of a shower of arrows, discharged at him by the Andamanese, struck him on the head, and he sank to rise no more. He was only about thirty-seven years of age, and will be long remembered, not merely for his scientific attainments, but for his skill as a musician, and his amiable qualities as a man. His widow was expecting his return at Mergui, when she received intelligence of his death. She has lately returned to Europe.

Lord Auckland was a great encourager of a taste for scientific pursuits among the Calcutta community, and one of the methods he adopted was by having occasional scientific soirées, to which all the leaders of European and native society were invited. On his tables were exhibited such specimens of the productions of India as had come into his lordship's possession; and, either Professor O'Shaughnessey lectured upon the recent discoveries in galvanism, or the powers

of some other man of science who happened to be in Calcutta were placed under contribution. Among these, I remember with especial pleasure, the lectures given by two brothers, Captains Boileau, of the Bengal Engineers, on the suspension-bridges constructed in India; and on the instruments placed under the care of the eldest, with which he was proceeding to Simlah, in the Himalayah mountains, to carry on a series of magnetic observations. The establishment of magnetic observatories in Hindostan was first suggested to the East India Company by Major Jervis, of the Bombay Presidency. His plan was on a most extensive scale, suggesting the erection of no less than sixteen observatories on the Indian continent. Even to this the Directors liberally assented; but, on referring the subject to the London Royal Society, that learned body decided that three such stations are sufficient: Simlah, for its elevation; Madras,

on account of its proximity to the magnetic meridian; and Singapore, for some reason which I do not remember.

The chief literature of India is comprised in its newspapers, and in these, of late years, a most marked improvement has taken place. Of these I shall speak presently, premising that the other publications extend little further than to almanacks and volumes of poetry, the latter being, generally, most pitiable.

During the three years of which I am more especially treating, I remember no works of value, except the Transactions of the Agricultural and Asiatic Societies; for the compilation on Astronomy, published in Persian, at Lucknow, by Rajah Ruttun Singh, is scarcely worthy of being considered as an exception: it is entitled *Huddikunnjoom*, or the *Garden of Stars*, and is respectable for its size, if not for its originality. The preface states that it was commenced under the patronage of Maho-

med Ali, who, considering that he was at the time being driven by us from Syria, is rather unfortunately termed "The Father of Victories." The rajah has the merit, followed by a few of his Mohamedan countrymen, to have risen superior to prejudices, and to have embraced the Copernian system, despite the outcry that it is opposed to the doctrine of the Koran.

Prominent among the English literati who have devoted their talents to Indian topics, is the late Miss Emma Roberts; and as she had been resident in Calcutta, and died within the three years of which I am treating, a brief notice of this best of the authoresses who have written of the East, may not be uninteresting. Mrs. Elwood, Mrs. Conolly, and Mrs. Postans, are all stars which fade before her "more excellent brightness." There is a freshness, a copy-from-Nature style in her descriptions, an evidence of research, a getting below the

mere surface, which the other ladies, excepting Mrs. Postans, are most signally deficient in. Of that portion of Miss Roberts' biography which relates to the *parentalia* I have nothing to offer, and shall commence with her arrival at Calcutta, in 1828, with her sister, Mrs. Macnaghten, whence, after a short sojourn, they proceeded together to the upper provinces, and resided there for two years.*

* I have since seen a communication from Captain Macnaghten, her brother-in-law, in which it is stated, "Miss Roberts was of a family of the first respectability. Her grandfather was a gentleman of good descent, and had considerable landed property in one of the Welch counties, (I think Cardigan); for which county he once, at least, served as high sheriff. Of his three sons—the youngest of whom was her father—one died a general in the royal army, and was at one period, we believe, a colonel in the Guards; for in George the Third's time, at whose court he was much esteemed, he frequently officiated as Gold Stick in waiting. The second son was an officer of considerable distinction in the Peninsular War, and commanded the 52nd Light Infantry, which latterly formed part of Lord Dalhousie's brigade. He was so much and so seriously wounded, that his pension for the wounds alone—which entitle to a pension—amounted to £500 a-year in the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Her "Sketches of India," point out Cawnpore, Agra, and their vicinity, as the localities with which she was most familiar. A prospect of profitable employment induced Miss Roberts to return to Calcutta in 1830; and, being now dependent upon her own resources, she undertook the editorship of the *Oriental Observer*, and its pages, during 1831, owe their best portions to her mental efforts. Nature gave way while she was thus nobly combating against adverse circumstances. Grief for her only sister, pecuniary losses, most shameful to the relative who brought them upon her, and incessant mental exertion, made "reason totter," and

He also gained some celebrity by his pen, for he was the author of "Johnny Newcome." Her father having, in the course of his travels as a young man, visited some of the continental courts, and having a turn for travel and adventure, became a favourite at St. Petersburgh, and was made aide-de-camp to a distinguished Russian general, in which capacity he served for some time in the field. Eventually, he entered the English army, but never attained beyond the rank of captain, and died paymaster of his regiment. Her only brother died young, while a lieutenant in the army."

she was compelled to return to England. Her energies were speedily restored; and gathering together papers which she had contributed to the *Asiatic Journal*, she made some additions, and published them in the form of her now well known "Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan."

This work appeared in 1835, at once raised her to the reputation she merited, and as promptly procured her an independence, by the constant employment for her pen proffered by those who were proprietors of periodicals devoted to Indian subjects and interests. Thus she continued to live, mingling in the best circles—courted and beloved for her perfect freedom from pretension, and for her happiness of disposition; and, above all, happy in the feeling of independence which her own clear mind and nervous pen had gained. That love of independence peeps out in some of her letters, kindly lent to me by one of her correspondents, in which

she speaks of her spinster state. There is one dated from No. 5, Baker-street, September 15, 1838, she says, "I am rather unfortunate, I think, in the opportunities which offer for a change of my condition; for, though eligible in point of worldly circumstances, I cannot like the men, and that is an insuperable objection; it is, therefore, more than possible, I shall remain as I am, and a year's residence quite alone in my lodging in Baker-street, has increased my reluctance to submit to any controul, and accept companionship which is not congenial."

Among other literary employments, she was now contributing to the "Era" newspaper, in which, as she promised in the above letter, she strove, "to create a taste for information connected with India." Her "Rival Houses of York and Lancaster" was unsuccessful, not being sufficiently furnished with references to original sources

for rendering it valuable as an authority, nor sufficiently confined to the flowers of history to render it attractive to the general reader. Her "Ten Minutes Advice to the Indian Voyager," and her "Cookery Book," are both esteemed useful authorities in their respective departments; but she found no field of literature so productive as that in the cultivation of which she most excelled—Sketches of Indian Scenery and Manners; consequently, she resolved again to visit India, as is explained in a letter written from Bombay, in the December of 1839, and from which the following is extracted:—

"I am spending my Christmas at Pareil, with the governor's family, but leave on the 27th, to make room for Sir John Keane and his staff, having promised to finish my visit another time. This is a delightful place; and I trust, that having got on hitherto so well, the year to which I have limited my

residence in India will not materially affect my health.

"My residence at Pareil is very agreeable, not only in consequence of the pleasant family party assembled, but because it affords me the very best opportunities of seeing things I should not otherwise witness. To-day, Lady Carnac receives visitors, a sort of drawing-room, which is an entertaining way of spending a morning once a week. I am afraid that I shall imbibe a taste for magnificence which I cannot gratify when I return home, although I shall be very glad to find myself on my way there; for, after all, I find that this country does not suit me, and had I not exhausted all my information concerning it, which I find a marketable commodity, I had not come out at all."

The hope expressed by Miss Roberts in the early part of this extract, we now know proved fallacious, and that the fear implied

at its conclusion was the monitory shadow cast before. Her unwearied exertions at her desk—for she immediately became a joint editor of the Bombay "United Service Journal and Literary Chronicle"—and the climate, which never allowed her to be in perfect health, gradually wrought death's purpose; and, like her gifted friends, L. E. L. and Miss Jewsbury, she found her last and peaceful resting-place in a tropic land. Her grave is by the side of that of Miss Jewsbury, at Poonah.

Some one in the House of Commons, not long since, characterised the Indian newspaper editors as "a set of ruffians;" and it must be confessed that at Colombo, Bombay, and Calcutta, it would not be difficult to find more than one that would earn for the editor this descriptive epithet, if all their compeers resembled them; but such is not the case, and there are now gentlemen connected with that press whose literary com-

positions are favourably known in England. Mr. Kaye,* the author of "Jerningham," and Captain Richardson, the author of "Literary Hours," and one of the best sonnetteers of his day, was, until lately, conductor of the "Bengal Herald."

I shall not enter into an estimate of the merits of the antagonist journals, but shall merely remark that, generally, Indian newspapers are required to differ from their English contemporaries in several prominent particulars. They have to supply the place of new books and magazines to many parts of interior India; such expensive and with-difficulty-conveyed commodities being rarely obtainable by many of the residents at out-of-the-way stations; consequently, if it were not for their newspapers, they would know but little of what is doing in European

* Mr. Kaye resigned his lieutenancy of the artillery to enable himself to fill the office; and Captain Richardson is the principal of the Hindoo College. The first English paper was published in 1780.

literature—would soon become real Rip Van Winkles, and, upon returning to the Presidency, would seem as if emerging into society after a sleep of many years.

Then again, an Indian paper is expected to concentrate in its columns news collected from every station between Cape Comorin in the south and the Himalayah in the north; between Bombay on the western and Thibet on the eastern coast. It has, besides, an epitome of, and selection from all European news; the most interesting matters extracted from the papers of the other Presidencies, as well as from those of Ceylon, Moulmein, Singapore, Delhi, Agra, the Cape, Australia and China; besides translations from the Mauritius, Bourbon, and native papers; and must obtain private correspondence from every station in the Presidency, if possible.

These correspondents are in reality a more extensive establishment of reporters than are employed by the leading journals of England;

many of them are gratuitous, others are satisfied by the papers being sent to them free from charge, while many are allowed a monthly salary, and, in almost every instance, they are the civil or military servants of the Company. Those officers who have received the highest remuneration for their communications were attached to the Affghan expedition, and these certainly deserved such a recompense; for it requires some energy, and is accompanied with no little difficulty, to write, in the field on active service, a daily narrative of movements and events. In Affghanistan there were no papers which could be obtained and extracted from; and being separated from Calcutta by thousands of miles, and unfordable rivers, and communicated with by roads only traversed by Dawk runners, it was especially desirable for the journals of the Presidency to have regular and able correspondents; and so essential did it appear to the editor of the

*Englishman*, that he personally joined the army of the Indus when concentrated at Ferozepore, for the purpose of making arrangements with some of its members.

Despite every exertion, the information was irregular, often interrupted, and always very slow of arrival. The earliest news of all-important transactions in and about Cabool was invariably received by certain firms acting as shroffs, or bankers, in the bazaar, the partners of which are Affghans. These have a chain of correspondents at every town between Calcutta and the Affghan capital, and a letter of intelligence was forwarded from hand to hand till it reached them. Their courier from beyond the Indus was never interrupted. These bankers received intelligence of the massacre of the British army in the passes between Cabool and Jellalabad, several days before it was known to the Indian government.

The missionary presses must not be for-

gotten in this notice, for these are doing more than either of those from which emanate English or native journals, for the dispersion of the ignorance which presses like an incubus upon all India. If their types were confined to the printing of the scriptures alone, in the native dialects of their vicinage, they would be powerful centres from whence education would outspread; but the missionaries do not restrict themselves to the preparation of religious works, and a long list might be appended, of translations of useful books into the Oordoo, Teloogoo, Bengalee, Hindee, and other dialects, which have issued from their presses at Serampore, Calcutta, Allahabad, Cuttack, Vizagapatam, Sudiyah, and Loodianah.

These establishments are superintended by the missionaries resident at these places, and are among many instances which might be cited, demonstrating that no labour, no application, is shrunk from by these devoted

servants of their Master. These presses are the most powerful engines they have for the diffusion of their "glad tidings;" for it enables them to distribute books among the natives in their own tongues, in which such a wonder as a volume had never before been known. Even manuscripts were only seen in the palaces of the highest class; but now volumes of various portions of the scriptures, &c., are to be found in the huts even of the lowest castes.

In speaking of the state of the arts, it is not irrelevant to observe, that there is not a single professional architect within the Calcutta precincts, of taste sufficient to furnish even a decent design.—Government has recourse to the engineers of their military service when they want to erect edifices requiring a knowledge of architectural rules; but of those lately built, with the exception of the Rajah of Moorshedabad's Palace, I

know not of one which "is a thing to wonder at;" and the edifices erected from designs furnished by private gentlemen, who fancy they are "lighted by Palladio's lamp," are often dreadful abortions. The totally unmeaning Ochterlony monument will ever remain a proof of this; and the latest erection when I left Calcutta, the Prinsep Ghaut, is another permanent record of ignorance. This Ghaut is intended to commemorate James Prinsep, one of the most distinguished of the men of science who have devoted their minds to the service of India, and the memorial should have been worthy of him. Yet a more tasteless, blundering structure could not well be imagined—at least, not to have its erection attempted. Crowded with heavy pillars, and loaded with still more ponderous wings, its deformity became so apparent as the structure rose, that, although building by private subscription, the Gover-

nor General interfered, and ordered that the work should proceed no further until improved in its design! This was effected, and it was then pointed out (which all the engineers had overlooked) that it was placed nearer the fort than the rules of fortification justified. However, there it stands, and will immortalize Mr. Rattray, the designer, as effectually as Mr. Prinsep.

# CHAPTER V.

LORD AUCKLAND.

His Deficiency in Brilliancy—His Lordship's Return to Calcutta—Government-house Parties—The Durbars—Presents—Queen's Birth-day Party—Dhost Mahomed—The King of Johanna—Affghan Manners in Calcutta—Policy of Dhost Mahomed—The African King's Surprise at Ice—Tippoo Sahib's Grandsons—Close of Lord Auckland's Government—Public Meeting, and Testimonials—Reverses in Affghanistan—Addresses to Lord Auckland.

## CHAPTER V.

### LORD AUCKLAND.

In after years, when the temporary excitement of party prejudice ceases to give a false colouring to the events of the passing time, Lord Auckland will be characterised as one of the most beneficial governors-general who have presided over the destinies of India. Ungifted with eloquence—of awkward address—painfully troubled with *mauvaise honte*—and of studious, retired habits, he was in no way calculated to dazzle and shine down the obloquy which is justly the consequence of misrule; and it is, therefore, a high testimony to his merit, as a governor,

that, during the whole course of his administration, but one occasion was found by his critics (and they were many) justly to condemn him for his domestic policy.

His return, with the Misses Eden, was hailed with as much joy by the festive-loving portion of the Calcutta community, as is that of the court, and the consequent "season," by the glittering throngs of London. Nor was the rejoicing without cause, for the government halls were certainly festive, and every Tuesday they were thrown open to all who had the *entrée*.

These evening parties were extremely agreeable; but the common durbars, or levees, held by his lordship for the reception of such natives as had the privilege of presentation, were the most stupid formalities conceivable. The hour for these was usually four in the afternoon, the customs of the natives not permitting them to leave home at an early period of the day; and there was

the usual military display, while the native dignitaries, Nawaubs and Rajahs, were introduced to him by the secretary of the political department, to present their *nuzzurs*, or gifts, and to receive their *kheluts*, or presents, in return. In 1840, I remember the Maha Rajah of Burdwan presented to Lord Auckland a purse of 600 gold mohurs, equal to about £1000; and he received in return, a pearl necklace, and other jewels, —an elephant with a silver howdah—a horse and its embroidered sadlery—a palkee, sword and shield, &c. The Prince of Persia presented some magnificent shawls on the same occasion, and was requited with a brace of pistols, a gold watch, and other *bijouterie*.

The only court day that was truly marked with eastern magnificence was the *fête* given by Lord Auckland on the 24th of May, 1841, in commemoration of the Queen's birth-day; and its distinctive characteristics arose from the two sovereigns who were there, the one as

our prisoner, and the other who had traversed the Indian seas to seek our aid to recover his little island-throne from the hands of an usurper. These sovereigns were, Dhost Mahomed, the ex-ruler of Cabool, and the King of Johanna. The *tout ensemble*, on entering the marble saloons of the Government-house —the glittering groups in which the richly embroidered scarlet and blue uniforms of British officers—the snowy muslins and gorgeous shawls of Hindoo dignitaries—the gold-bespangled silks and velvets of Mohamedan princes, and the varied costume and graceful forms of our fair countrywomen, were variously blended and contrasted—the long distinct vistas of this sparkling joyous throng, divided and subdivided by the marble pillars, illumined by an effulgent light, cooled by the wavings of the never ceasing punkahs, scented by libations of attah, and enlivened by the music of two military bands, was such a combined offering to the senses as is

never poured forth upon the frequenter of the gayest of European courts.

The post of honour was given to the ex-ruler of Affghanistan, and to the left of Lord Auckland was seated the detruded sovereign of Johanna; and these various rulers, surrounded by a mingled circle of British officers, and of Affghan and African chieftains, were receiving the salaams of the company, and presented a spectacle most imposing. Dhost Mahomed was the lion of the evening, and his plain white turban, and sober-coloured, unadorned robe, contrasted strongly with the diamond-bedecked and richly vested forms of the other Orientals. I was willing to believe that this absence of all ornament was a suggestion of good taste, harmonizing with his adversity. Not that there was much appearance of melancholy upon his brow; but there is no truth in physiognomy, if

> "Eye and lip did not betray
> The craftsman of a devious way."

His plain white turban, with its ample folds —his vest of quaker-coloured silk, divested of ornament, and without arms—his jovial handsome features—betokened nothing of the warlike leader of Affghan chivalry. He is about the middle stature, stout rather than muscular; and the bland countenance, despite its black beard and moustache of ample development, bespeak humour more than courage; and as the face has few detectable lines of wisdom, so, what little there is, is diminished by an expression about the eye which betrays more of cunning than of frankness. His sons were also there, and from them and their attendants there was a similar absence of ornament, which, whether the dictate of good taste or not, suited well with their unfortunate circumstances. They talked freely with the limited number of guests who had a knowledge of Persian; and as our Governor-general was not among this gifted few, he had to "hold high con-

verse" with the Dhost by the aid of Mr. Colvin, his private secretary.

In the course of the evening the Dhost played at chess with Miss Eden, but she was either less skilful or more courteous than her brother, and did not check-mate his Majesty.

These Affghan chiefs, during their Calcutta sojourn, seemed to enjoy themselves, and to be well contented with their "*otium*," though it was "*sine dignitate.*" They rolled about in their carriages on the parade every evening, descending from their vehicles at sunset, the hour of evening prayer, and prostrating themselves on the grass towards "the Holy City." As equestrians, also, they certainly were pre-eminent, and exhibited, almost nightly, their "feats of noble horsemanship." There is now but little doubt that this sojourn in Calcutta was for the purpose of gaining an object in which success was very nearly attained. To conciliate Lord Auck-

land, and to negotiate for a stipend was the pretence, but the real purport was to procure permission to reside at a station not far removed from the Affghan frontier; this permission was obtained, and if the Cabool massacre and insurrection had not been prematurely precipitated by his son Akbar Khan, Dhost Mahomed would have been in the desired vicinity at the time of the rising. As it was he was stopped, and retained more in the centre of India; but he is now free to betake himself whithersoever it pleaseth him, and I know little of his character if he does not, before this year closes, make a strong and probably successful effort to eject the boy Shah Poore, who is now on the Cabool guddee.*

The other monarch present at this festal celebration of our Sovereign's birth-day, the king of the island of Johanna, came to Calcutta from Mozambique, on board the *Phle-*

* Guddee—a throne.

*gethon* steamer, for the purpose before stated. He has long been friendly to us, and abolished the slave trade within his dominions, but is now a sufferer for his hospitality to one of the Madagascar princes, who having been banished, found an asylum in the island of Johanna, rendered himself popular with some of its chiefs, and finally ejected his hospitable entertainer from the throne. The ex-king is a short slight man, below the middle stature, and his features of the Mussulman cast, contrasting strongly with the thick lips, flat noses, and jetty complexion of his more thoroughly African attendants. He seemed to be particularly surprised and amazed by the sweetened and flavoured ices, which were presented to him, this being probably the first time he had ever seen water in a solid state.

In addition to these monarchs, there were in the room Adjeet Singh, a plenipotentiary from the Punjaub, to implore aid in behalf

of his widowed mistress, the relict of Kurruck Singh; Prince Gholam and other grandsons of Tippo Saib, decked out in all the gold brocades and diamond ornaments so dear to Eastern taste; and besides these, there were scores of Rajahs and Baboos of smaller power but heavy purses, sparkling with ornaments; especially Rajah Kalikrishna, a member of the London Asiatic Society, and a man of literature, whose diamond necklace would have won the hearts of half the dowagers of the West End.

Of Lord Auckland's domestic and foreign policy I shall speak separately, and more at large. Of his general character the best record is the testimony afforded by all Calcutta when the period of his withdrawal arrived. The closing scenes of his rulership must have been peculiarly gratifying; for next to the consciousness of having deserved golden opinions, the public approbation of them is the most grateful incense which can

be offered, and towards his lordship, every class, and the entire of every class, united in their expression of approval. His public merit, as well as private worth, were acknowledged warmly and unanimously.

One man might object to his Affghan policy, a second might not approve his educational system, another might condemn him for subscribing to the theatre, and a fourth deprecate his economical reductions; but these partial reservations were not allowed to outweigh the high estimate of his general rule; for, if tried by the no-exception test, it is certain that no governor-general would ever receive a public declaration of approbation. Brought to such a test, the best friends of India would have to be rejected as found wanting. If a man, during the whole time he be in power, strive indefatigably to perform the duties of his office—if he unweariedly and patiently receive all who have sought for justice at his hands—if he

distribute patronage without favour, where merit prefers a just claim—if he labour more than any of his predecessors to ascertain and improve the resources of the country he rules—if he, more than any of his predecessors, has succeeded in advancing the education of the people and its public institutions—if he be largely charitable, and if he put forth the energies of the country upon every occasion on which he thought its honour and safety required the exertion—if he does all this, then *that* statesman has an unimpeachable claim upon the gratitude of his countrymen. And, most unquestionably, Lord Auckland was thus entitled, and received it from every worthy tongue and hand in India.

Every one who surveyed, dispassionately, his lordship's progress from 1836, in which his rule commenced, until the close of his Indian career, joined in recording as their opinion, that no one had striven either more conscientiously, more assiduously, or, in the

aggregate, more successfully, for the benefit of India. The period of six years is too brief for the full harvest of any of his measures to be apparent, but when that glorious period shall arrive, there are very many results, the seed-time of which will be traced to the years of his lordship's sway.

If any one had hesitated in his conclusion relative to the generally high opinion entertained of Lord Auckland, fearing that it might be less favourable in other circles of society in which he did not mingle, the public meeting held on the 28th of February, 1842, to vote to his lordship a farewell address, must have banished his misgiving. Many expressed their wish that it had not occurred upon the very day, and at the very hour, when his lordship's successor was landing, because there was much consequent delay and interruption. The cannon of Fort William *would* make their voices heard above those of all other orators, and curiosity *would* prevail over a sense of propriety,

especially among the native portion of the meeting, and make the voice of the speaker inaudible amid the shuffling of feet on the marble pavement, as their movers hastened to see the new governor-general pass by the hall of meeting. These, however, were but temporary inconveniences, over which patience soon prevailed, and all then rejoiced that this favourable testimony was offering to Lord Auckland at the very time his successor was entering the government palace. They rejoiced, because, notwithstanding this counteraction, the meeting was the largest, most respectable, and most unanimous ever assembled in Calcutta within the memory of its oldest residents; and demonstrated, as was truly observed by a speaker on the occasion, that he whom they met to honour was too sincerely regarded to have the numbers of his friends decreased, and drawn away to that sun whose arising the guns were then announcing.

It was, indeed, a triumphant meeting for

his lordship and his friends, a meeting, as the advocate-general, now Sir Lawrence Peel, justly pointed out, whither every rank, every caste, and every sect, had crowded to testify their respect for his lordship's character. And the reason was obvious, because all came, as the speaker said he came, to bear individual testimony to their high sense of Lord Auckland's character as Governor-general, though on many occasions in that hall he had raised his voice in condemnation of particular measures. The same good spirit actuated the whole assembly, and all assented to the particular lineaments of his lordship's character, as pourtrayed by those who had the best opportunities of appreciating them.

The advocate-general said that his lordship's career throughout, and uniformly, appeared as if it were to be an answer to one perpetually remembered query, "How can I best promote the interests of those

over whom I preside?" The bishop, Dr. Wilson, bore testimony to the Earl's uniform and unwearied attention to all representations connected with religious subjects; he at once assented to the proposition of providing religious instruction for the troops on the China expedition, with the same readiness that he had directed two chaplains to proceed with that to Cabool.* "Though I do not coincide with his lordship in some of his opinions relative to education," added Dr. Wilson, "yet I testify that he has listened with the greatest attention to my suggestions,—has given them his calm consideration, and decided upon them according to his own judgment, as befits the ruler of a great country."

Mr. Cameron, the law-commissioner, and member of the Committee of Public Instruction, emphatically dwelt upon his lordship's

* The providing of chaplains for the China expedition was, in the first instance, overlooked.

wise encouragement of the Medical College. He had been not only most anxious to provide for it the most able professors, but had watched over its progress, fostered its efforts, and made himself master of its details, being most desirous to secure its success by having an eye over its entire management; because he saw its important capabilities, not merely of securing to the natives a better practice of the medical arts, but because the students of the college must be most efficient promulgators of civilization; their value, the superiority of their skill, was made apparent to the senses of the most bigoted, and it was an influence to which they could object nothing, that as in medicine and surgery, so probably in all other sciences, was the knowledge of the West pre-eminent over that of the East. Dr. John Grant dwelt upon the same topic, and enlarged upon his lordship's general efforts to diffuse a love of science among the native population: this was apparent in most

of his efforts; and "in his scientific parties," observed the doctor, "he may be said to have brought you (the natives) within the doors of his own house, to impart to you that knowledge."

These are but a few of the particulars dwelt upon by some of the various speakers; but *all* were in eulogy of his lordship's devotion of his time to his duties, his endeavours to elevate the natives, his suavity, "alike giving ear to the poorest Cooley, and the richest Zemindar;" his diligence, his calmness of attention; his universal popularity, without having recourse to any artifices for its winning; his mildness, and his justice. No wonder, then, as was observed, that his lordship departed, and left not a single enemy in India.

The reverses our army had sustained in Affghanistan—this cloud which supervened on the last days of Lord Auckland's rule—were feelingly and ably commented upon by

more than one speaker; reverses, as it was well said, which were the consequences of treachery in the enemy and inclemency in the season, which no vigilance of his lordship could have prevented; yet reverses which in no mind were felt more acutely than in his own; affording, therefore, an additional reason for the community coming forward to express the feelings dictated by candour and sympathy.

As all united in this just sentiment, so did all agree, and prophetically as it has proved, in considering that the calamity was transient, and that the time was at hand when would be proved that the misfortune was the result of accident, and not of our declining power, or of our soldiers' recreancy. "The snow will be soon gone," said the bishop, carried away by an impulse of patriotism; "we shall then get through the passes; *and when we get at them*—" His lordship did not conclude the sentence, nor

was it needed—every man's heart suggested the rest.

In conclusion, it may be truly remarked, that a more unanimous and hearty expression of high public approbation was never afforded to any man than to Lord Auckland at that meeting; and there cannot be two opinions that, if his lordship's character had to be summed up in one word, it would be by describing him as the most useful governor-general who ever presided over India.*

* The following is the Address voted at the above meeting:

"*To the Right Hon. George, Earl of Auckland, &c.*

"LORD AUCKLAND,—WE, the undersigned inhabitants of Calcutta and of the Presidency of Bengal, approach you on the eve of your departure from this country, for the purpose of expressing to you sentiments which we have long felt, but to which that event now prompts us to give utterance.

"The interests of this Indian empire are so vast, so many, so various, and so complicated, that much diversity of opinion must inevitably prevail as to what they really are, and as to the means by which they may best be promoted; but in esteem for the character and motives of the ruler to whose care those interests have been confided for the last six years, there exists, we believe, an unanimity almost without example. You have shown the people of this country the

Mention must not be omitted of the circumstance, that the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce presented an Address to his lordship, expressive of "its admiration of the affability, and consideration, and wisdom, evinced in all his relations with commerce;" and his lordship, in reply, with just pride,

example of a public man, in the most exalted station, devoting all his time and all his energy to the duties of his office. You have diligently sought out merit amongst all classes, and have stimulated the honourable ambition of the native youth by encouragement and rewards, which are producing the happiest effects.

"If strict impartiality in a country, where the many differences of creed and race multiply at the same time the difficulty and the value of that rare virtue,—if six years of incessant exertion for every object which you have conceived to be conducive to the happiness and the improvement of the people of British India, form a just title to their gratitude, *that title is yours.*

"Thinking thus of your character, we earnestly desire that some public memorial of you may show to the future inhabitants of this empire the estimation in which you were held by those who lived under your mild and just government; and we request that, for that purpose, you will permit a statue of yourself to be made in London, and to be erected in this metropolis.

"We wish you, in all sincerity, many years of happiness and honour in your native country," &c.

pointed out that "the result of the changes effected had been, that he could now (March 1842) count nearly two hundred sail of shipping in the river, where, when he arrived in the country, scarcely one hundred had at any time been numbered."

The Agricultural Society also presented an Address; and the following summary gives a clear enumeration of his care toward the productive power of India:—"The Society recollects with gratitude how, on first arriving, your lordship at once consented to become its patron, and declared, 'that you should be happy, whenever you should find it in your power, to promote its objects.' This promise your lordship has never on any occasion forgotten, up to this hour of your departure." *

* It is unnecessary, and would be tedious, to enumerate all the instances, but they comprise communications on various subjects: the grant of land on which to build a hall for the Society; liberty to have parcels sent gratuitously by the Dawk; the communication of numerous official papers; the publication of minutes relative to the growth of cotton, &c.

# CHAPTER VI.

TENDENCY OF GOVERNMENT—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—MANUFACTURES— COMMERCE.

Tendency to Tyranny—Restriction of Jury Laws—Proposed Act to take Evidence — Internal Communication wretched—Post Office Regulations—Dawk between Bombay and Calcutta—Bengal Pottery—Professor O'Shaughnessy's Experiments—Mr. Jeffrey's Failure—Coal and Iron in India —The Coal Districts—Cultivation of Flax—Dr. Falconer—Botanical Gardens at Mussooree, &c.—Vegetable Products sought for—Garden Produce at Calcutta—Prize Exhibitions —Native Gardeners—Growth of Cotton—American Cotton Planters—Ill conduct of Madras and Bombay Governments—Improved Breeds of Cattle—Salt Making—Ill Consequences of the Government Monopoly—Increase of Commerce.

## CHAPTER VI.

TENDENCY OF GOVERNMENT—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—MANUFACTURES—COMMERCE.

PLACING the legislative power unchecked in the hands of the executive, has a tendency to render the laws enacted tyrannical. This rule, I think, obtains universally; and in India, I found no exception to its inclusiveness. Trial by jury is there still circumscribed, though the necessity for making the judges also the jurors in civil suits no longer exists. When the statute passed which gave the judges such twofold office, the justification was, that the classes from which a jury could be selected were so restricted in number, that

the duty would be too onerous, and it would be difficult to obtain a jury above a violent suspicion of influence from extraneous relationship to the parties litigant. Since that, education, and the immense increase of population, have justified the addition of so many persons to the jury list, that the plea of deficiency in number, as an extenuation of the breach of that safeguard of liberty, trial by jury, would be ridiculous if urged, yet not an attempt is made to remove the dangerous innovation.*

This, if it stood alone, would be sufficient to justify the charge of the government of India having a tendency to act without a due regard to public liberty; and there are many other examples to be found in the

* In 1841, the Grand Jury List contained 197 names, and the Petty Jury List 1149: they were thus constituted—

| | Gr. Jury. | Petty Jury. |
|---|---|---|
| British . . . . . | 135 | 382 |
| Half-castes, Armenians, &c. . . | 25 | 590 |
| Hindoos . . . . . | 37 | 177 |
| | 197 | 1149 |

government regulations which demonstrate that it is much too frequently forgotten.

The most flagrant attempt I remember, was a proposition to admit, in criminal cases, evidence taken against a prisoner in his absence. The draft of the proposed act was actually published in the government gazette, and if one gentleman had not raised his voice loudly against this proposed inlet for the exercise of the greatest oppression that can scourge a land, it would have passed into a law. No stronger instance of the tendency to tyranny, inherent in our Indian form of government, could be adduced, than that to the mind of such a man as Lord Auckland, a measure like this should not appear abhorrent to every just idea of liberty. The act proposed was no trivial innovation, but of so grave a character as to be utterly inexcusable upon any plea of convenience.

Though the fundamental union of the

legislative and executive tends to render the Anglo-Indian government despotic, its subordinate structure, its ramifications, its generally diffused local residents, magistrates, and collectors, render it capable of great efficiency in the acquirement of knowledge relative to the country, and of carrying into effect measures for its amelioration.

The people are too ignorant, and the native higher classes too opposed to their improvement, to allow the work of regeneration to progress rapidly, and the consequences are apparent in effects which otherwise would render any government inexcusable. Thus, no country so populous, so wealthy, and so long ranked among civilized nations as India, is so inefficiently supplied with the means of internal communication. This is in some degree attributable to the division of the continent into separate states, and to the badness of the internal police; but its chief source is the selfish ignorance of the native

rulers; they have little care for the prosperity of their dominions, thinking only of the means of obtaining their own discreditable gratifications; and the people, apparently unable duly to appreciate the value of roads and canals, steal from them whatever may serve their own present wants and purposes, entirely unmindful of the consequences.

The faults both of the government and people in this respect are well illustrated by the Dawk-road, between Calcutta and Bombay. This, as being the route by which communication is kept up with home, ought to have engaged the most effective attention of the government; instead of which, though an officer was appointed to survey and report upon it,—but he being allowed to be as dilatory as he pleased, to the shame of all parties concerned, the line of road remains "still in progress," as it has been for years. If this undertaking were to be thoroughly investigated, I opine it would be found to be a most disgraceful specimen of jobbery.

The conduct of the natives along portions of this road, illustrates the other branch of my statement. Captain Kittoe, employed at one time on the service, informed me that after wire bridges had been constructed to facilitate the passage across some of the nullahs, these were speedily rendered useless by the thefts of the natives, and they could not be preserved in an efficient state until protected by a Sepoy guard.

The Indian government, during the last few years, have been paying more attention, and incurring a greater expenditure, than formerly upon the improvement of internal communication, but the outlay has been trivial when compared with the importance of the object to India, and the amount of revenue derived from its impoverished people. The East India Directors have never yet acted as though they felt the acknowledged truth, that without a superior system of internal communication, the resources of the country cannot become available, and that

next to education, such a system would be the most effective agent in civilizing India. It would promote not only the increase, but the diffusion of wealth, and this result never yet was obtained, without at the same time advancing the civilization of the country in which it obtains. A poor native is always an ignorant one; and it is no paradox, that abounding as India does in riches, and in the means of wealth, yet no people were ever poorer. Her riches are concentrated in the hands of the comparatively few—the mass of the population are in abject poverty, incapable of attempting any improvements. The natural wealth of the country's soil is unsought for by them, but if obtained, there is no easy mode of transport to market.

What the government effected during the official year ending with April 1840, is shown by a report from the Military Board. Thence it appears that 5,734,223 rupees have been expended in the formation of roads, and 4,963,288 rupees on canals.

I have noted the imperfect state of the roads between Calcutta and Bombay, one above all others which a stranger would believe must command the most earnest attention and assistance of government; but unfortunately, this is only one portion of the most inefficient department of India—the post-office. Three years' experience in that country, and with more than ordinary opportunity of acquaintance with the inadequacy of that department, leaves no doubt upon my mind that the Dawk arrangements for the conveyance of letters, instead of improving, gave monthly proofs that they did not even keep pace with the increased demand upon their provisions, as intercourse augmented, but rather that they became more and more inadequate to perform the requisite duties.

The complaints of losses, injuries, and delays consequent upon this insufficiency are not confined to one route in India, or to one season of the year; but they arise in every district, and from day to day, and whether you

refer to the newspapers of Ceylon, Madras, Bombay, Delhi, Agra, or Calcutta; whether you look into those published during the hot, the cold, or the rainy season, there, in some form or other, appear complaints of the inefficiency of the post-office arrangements. Such a general and perpetual occurrence of failures, and the inquiries instituted while I was in India, convince me that they arise neither from accident, nor one cause only. The answers I obtained show that the Dawk-roads are deplorably bad,* that the various post-offices have too weak establishments of officials, and that the post-masters do not sufficiently attend to their duties. The government are not without their heavy share of blame; for I know they have not attended to the complaints preferred in many instances; and on one occasion, when pressed to employ Indian-rubber cloth as a remedy

* Owing to this, 1700 Calcutta letters for the English mail, leaving Bombay in September, 1841, were too late.

against the destruction caused to letters, &c., in the Dawk wallets, by the rains, the reply was "There is a contract for wax cloth, and we cannot afford, until that is expired, to enter into another for caoutchouc cloth!" This would have been paltry, even if the whole waxcloth had to be a loss; but so far from this being incident to the change, it would have been used for other packages than letters, and for these also during the dry seasons.

At Bombay, it is not uncommon to hear of letters being detained at the post-office for *four* days; and, perhaps, the most absurd of all its abominable arrangements was, the allowing letters intended for one station, actually *to pass through it*, and not permitting the wallets to be opened until they arrived at a station beyond, from whence the letters were returned next day! I speak of Kirkee, between Bombay and Poonah.

The following facts, derived from official

statements, will enable the reader to form an estimate of the Dawk arrangements. The best conducted route, that between Calcutta and Bombay, costs the Indian government about a lakh of rupees (£10,000) annually. Three Dawk-bearers are placed at each stage, and each is limited to carrying eighteen pounds, so that fifty-four pounds can only be removed daily; and the average time in which they pass the wallets is about ten days, during favourable weather. The average weight of letters brought monthly from England to Bombay, for transmission to Calcutta, is rather over six hundred pounds weight, and the average number of days required to get them from Bombay to Calcutta, is eight days!

To show how deficient in all the details, and how liable to error are the post arrangements, it need only be mentioned as an absolute truth, that the letters posted at Calcutta on the 16th of August, 1841, were actually

brought back to that city—the runners *from* Bombay having met those proceeding *to* Bombay, and, by mistake, after resting and talking together, exchanged wallets!

If the efforts of government, under Lord Auckland, were not sufficiently strenuous towards the improvement and extension of internal communication in India, the same blame does not attach to its endeavours for the increase of its mercantile resources. It would needlessly swell these volumes, were I to touch upon all the results of those endeavours, but it will be well to dwell upon some of the most important.

It is somewhat strange that in two countries, the frontiers of which may be said to be in contact, there should be such a total difference in their excellence in pottery. The first, China, produces a ware, the most beautiful in texture and colouring, but most tasteless in form, that the world knows; while India has an earthenware of the worst pos-

sible fabric, yet moulded into forms in elegance closely approaching the best Etruscan models.

To the improvement of the quality of the Bengal pottery, the Indian government directed its special attention during the last three years of Lord Auckland's sojourn. Dr. O'Shaughnessey, professor of chemistry at the Calcutta Medical College, undertook numerous researches on this subject, especially having for his object the improvement of the white earthenware employed for pharmaceutical purposes. If the professor did not direct his course in this pursuit with his usual scientific precision, yet he most certainly addressed himself to the inquiry with praiseworthy perseverance. From Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's statements, that in Behar the materials for the best porcelain are abundant, he was sanguine of success, but the result has not been entirely satisfactory.

He found, upon inquiry, there are two

sorts of clay employed by the native potters. The one easily fusible, but the other, though less so, yet of little use, owing to the vessels formed of it being liable to crack and warp. Of glazing, native craftsmen are entirely ignorant. To rectify these deficiencies, Dr. O'Shaughnessey obtained clays from various districts of the Bengal and Madras Presidencies, but none of them answered, and he was only successful with a specimen brought from Singapore, by Captain Halstead, of H. M. ship *Childers*. This proved to be a very excellent pottery clay, and after various experiments, the professor found the best glaze for his purpose is borate of lime, of which salt an abundant supply can be obtained in the Calcutta bazaar, from a material bearing a merely nominal price.*

* Some years since, Mr. Julius Jeffreys, a surgeon in the East India Company's service, expended large sums in researches to improve the Indian pottery, and his manufactory still remains a monument of his praiseworthy endeavours. I knew Mr. Jeffreys in his school-days at Chelmsford, and even

Intimately connected with the progress of the manufactures of India, is the discovery of coal and iron within its soil; and more has been effected by a judicious direction of scientific research after these minerals, during the governor-generalship of Lord Auckland, than during the sway of all his predecessors. This may be gathered from the reports of various officers employed in the inquiry, and epitomised in those of the government committee appointed to investigate the mineral resources of India.

From these reports it appears that India has within her bowels a most abundant supply of coal and iron, the only materials which can render a country great by means of its manufactured produce,—the very minerals

then his taste for mechanics merited and obtained for him from our master, the designation of "Will Wimble," with a prophecy that he would shine in nothing but carving walking-stick handles and tobacco-stoppers. This Mr. Jeffreys has lived to refute. His last invention, I believe, is the "Respirator," to warm the air during the cold seasons, before it passes through the respiratory organs into the lungs.

which have been the agents in elevating Great Britain to the first among manufacturing nations.

Doubtless, it is of high importance for the increase of India's wealth, to improve her cotton growth, and to establish extensively on her soil the cultivation of the tea-plant, but these are only some of the first steps towards the desired object. By improving her agriculture, comparative wealth and comfort will be spread among the mass of her people; but if Nature compelled us to stop there—if coal and iron were not within her strata, and consequently, she was to be never anything but an agricultural country; we know from all history, she would never rise above the level found by all nations, whose people are well characterised in the Apochrypha as having their talk about bullocks. But it is now shown that the mineral wealth of India fits her for a higher destiny; and that she, like America, may be at first agricultural,

but gradually may become, also, a manufacturing country.

During the last two or three years scarcely a month has elapsed without an increase of knowledge relative to the coal formations. Strata have been discovered most eligible for Calcutta, on the banks of the Durumda; in Assam most propitiously for the tea manufacture, fresh beds have been continually brought to light, even since their first discovery in those parts, in 1828, by Mr. Bruce. On the banks of the Jellunjee and other tributaries to the Barumpootra from the Butan mountains, they have been found by Captain Vetch. Captain Henderson has pointed out a probably extended line of coal districts between Gowahatti and Bramakund. Captain Hannay has been successful in demonstrating the coal seams on the banks of a navigable river at Jypoor, and many other strata have been pointed out in less available positions. Other formations have been dis-

covered at Sandoway, where the best Indian tobacco is produced, and will be rendered available probably in years to come, in the process of manufacturing it into such forms required in commerce, as necessarily require the employment of fire.

The coal here and in the Tenasserim provinces, as shown by the unfortunate Dr. Helfer, Captain Lloyd, and others, is equal in quality to that obtained from Burdwan, which is the kind generally employed by the steam-vessels, and for other purposes at Calcutta. The Burdwan coal district is that which has been longest brought into public notice, for it was pointed out in 1804. Close to this is another formation at Adji, but there has been a prejudice existing against the coal procured thence, until a short time since, by a fortunate accident, about 4000 maunds of it were used by *mistake* as Burdwan coal, and they are now generally admitted to be of equal quality. At the Dhoba sugar works,

from ten to fifteen thousand maunds of Adji coal are annually consumed.*

In Sylhet, at Cheera Poonji, there is another large coal formation, and as its produce is superior to that of Burdwan in the proportion of 9 to 14 (*nine* parts of Sylhet coal actually doing the work requiring *fourteen* of Burdwan,) and as soon as better arrangements are made for its transit, the Sylhet coal must supersede that of Burdwan. In Cuttack, at Rajmahal, Palamow, Chupra, and elsewhere, other coal beds of varying qualities have been very lately discovered; so that even from our present imperfect acquaintance with Indian geology, we have gained the knowledge that there is coal in eighty-three different localities. From Arracan and the Tenasserim Provinces, and passing through Sylhet to Assam in the north, and back again through the districts of Rajmahal, Palamow, and Burdwan. Cal-

* A maund is about 80 lbs. Avoirdupois.

cutta is literally environed with coal formations.

Next deserving of note are the successful efforts of the Agricultural Society for the introduction of the growth of flax. This plant is not a modern introduction into India, for it has been cultivated immemorially by natives for the sake of its seed, but without any attempt, or even any idea apparently that from its fibres are attainable the material of which the beautiful linen fabrics of Europe are formed. The Society, aided by the government, have been the first to bring together and demonstrate by evidence defying dispute,* that flax, equal in quality to that of the best European growth, may be produced in India with a highly satisfactory profit. It is quite true that, as far back as 1804, Dr. Roxburgh published his opinion that this might be effected, but it was reserved for the Society in 1841, to establish the fact, by

* Report of the Society's Flax Committee, in November, 1841.

actually producing it on a large scale. Baboo Dwarkanath Tajore, by his private exertions, the premia offered by the Society, the labours of its committee, and the practical aid afforded by the Indian government, in sending to Calcutta an experienced Belgian flax cultivator, have united in obtaining the desired result.

It is now proved, beyond dispute, that flax, worth from £50 to £66 per ton, may be grown in Bengal, with a profit which will satisfy any capitalist who devotes his funds and time to the cultivation of the plant; that twelve maunds (960 lbs.) may be grown upon an English acre of moderately fertile land; and that a profit of £14 per ton, at the least, remains, after paying all expenses. There only requires one more step to be taken, temporarily, by government, which, I think, would be highly beneficial in promoting the extensive cultivation of this important article of commerce. There is no want of inclination

on the part of many planters to engage in its cultivation, but the paralyzing question immediately arises, Where can any one be obtained to superintend the manufacturing processes? "Echo answers, where?" and at present I do not know that any more satisfactory reply can be given.

To remove this deficiency, I think government might justly contrive to advance funds for supporting Mr. Duneef (the Belgian cultivator just mentioned), in carrying on an extensive flax farm, for the especial purpose of instructing natives and others, in the entire system of cultivating and dressing the plant.

No one more than Lord Auckland was conscious of the importance of enlisting science in the struggle to develope the natural resources of India, and no one exerted himself more for the securing its assistance. Thus, at the close of the year 1841, he appointed Dr. Falconer to be general-superintendant of the botanical gardens of the North-western

provinces; an office which places under his guidance the gardens at Mussooree and Saharunpoor. Such an appointment must prove of benefit to India, for Dr. Falconer is no mere chamber botanist: he has for years laboured not only to obtain full and authentic information concerning the vegetable and other products of north-western India, but, to gather fresh knowledge, he incurred the dangers and fatigues of a protracted journey through Cashmere into Little Thibet.

The gardens in question were much extended during the year before mentioned, and I am enabled to state, from evidence which is above suspicion, that they have been, most successfully, the means of introducing better species of the sugar cane and the cotton plant, into the districts around them.

Lord Auckland, for the purpose of collecting the information possessed by the various government officials in the different

districts, relative to their vegetable products, and anxious to ascertain such useful plants as might be imported into each with a prospect of success, addressed the Home Government, in 1838, upon the subject, and the Court of Directors intimated its concurrence with his views, and promised its aid to carry them into effect. This resolution was communicated to the Calcutta Agricultural Society, who immediately appointed a committee "for the purpose of suggesting such plants and trees as might be desirable for introduction into India, or that could be supplied from thence to other countries." Information was sought from every quarter, and the result was so satisfactory, that being laid before the Governor-general, he bestowed upon the details his high approbation, and directed that the expense of publishing them should be defrayed out of the public treasury.

All the documents were consequently

placed in the hands of Dr. Spry, the indefatigable secretary of the Agricultural Society, and were published, at the close of 1841, under the title of "Suggestions for extending the cultivation and introduction of useful and ornamental plants, for the improvement of the agricultural and commercial resources of India." It is full of highly interesting and important information.

Those who have not known Calcutta within the last ten years, and remember how miserably the town was then supplied with culinary vegetables, would not believe, if they were placed amid those now exhibited annually at the Agricultural Society's show, that the vegetables there collected were the produce of Calcutta gardens, cultivated by native mallees.

At the exhibition last year (1842), were celery, cabbages (red, drumhead, and savoy), spinach, turnips, French beans, endive, carrots, lettuces, red-beet, artichokes, potatoes,

tomatos, peas, cauliflowers, water-cresses, &c., that would not have shamed an English gardener at Fulham.

There were hundreds of competitors, about forty of whom obtained prizes, (money, and medals); and any contemner of the native character, looking upon the neatness and taste with which the various products were arranged, and the gratified looks which the prizemen wore, would have a somewhat altered opinion of them, though they have a swarthy skin; and though naked to the waist, they bowed down before Miss Eden, while she decorated them with their prizes. That they value the distinction, not merely for the intrinsic worth of the medal, was fully demonstrated by some of the competing mallees attending on this occasion, with two and even *three* previously-gained medals suspended round their necks.

One of the undertakings for the benefit of India, fraught with the most important

consequences to that country, is the introduction of American cotton-planters, for the purpose of effecting an improvement in the quality of its cotton produce. These gentlemen arrived in 1841, and I had the pleasure of conversing with the three who came to Calcutta. They are intelligent men, and there is strong reason to believe that they will succeed in the object for which they were taken thither. The best evidence of this is, the fact that they have embarked their own property in land, for pursuing the same description of cultivation; and an unbiassed inspector has reported favorably of the condition of the cotton plantations under their superintendance.

I wish I could report as favourably of the results of similar experiments in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies; but there, the planters were grossly neglected, and even contumeliously treated, both by the local and government authorities. For such discourage-

ments, thrown upon an undertaking fraught with such important consequences to all India, no reprehension or condemnatory visitation could be too severe.

At Bombay the American planters published a letter explaining why they fled from India and returned to their own country, from which it appears, that not merely unthanked for the exertions they made, but blamed for venturing to build a machine-house without the aid of a Bombay engineer officer, though they did know his services were available, treated with unkindness, neglected and vituperated, they became broken-spirited and departed, though they protested the experiment would succeed, "under proper and liberal encouragement."

The conduct of the Madras authorities was, to the very full, as reprehensible as that of their Bombay compeers, for they thwarted as well as neglected the American planters. These gentlemen, as they them-

selves say in a very temperate letter, went to India with "a strong spirit of emulation to see who should accomplish in the most successful manner the object in view;" but this good spirit met with no sympathy, and was "so coolly responded to, and so feebly supported by (the Madras) government," that the planters declared themselves to be disheartened; and no wonder, when labouring for the good of others, they found these careless whether success or failure was the result.

But this is a serious charge against the Madras government, and to which they seem to have pleaded guilty, by having, subsequently to the planters' complaint, placed increased funds at their command. Such neglect is most blameworthy, and cannot be too loudly condemned.

The planters at Madras also complain of the conduct of Dr. Wight; and their charge, if true—and it is uncontradicted by

that gentleman—calls for a marked censure upon him. Of his botanical acquirements there is no room to doubt; and the government thence very superficially concluded that he was the man best fitted to preside over the experiment; but this is far from being a necessary consequence, and any officer, civil or military, who had a knowledge of the native habits, language, and mode of cultivating the cotton, would have been far more useful to the Americans. They were taken to India to introduce a peculiar system of cultivation,—to bring it to the test of actual trial under their own direction. The expense was not incurred to enable Dr. Wight to direct them, and carry out *his* opinions; he might have brought these to the test of experiment at a much cheaper rate by giving his orders to a gang of native Mallees and Coolies. He was far too interfering, and showed a total misconception of his duty, when he broadly and unmanneredly

told the American planters "their opinion was not asked for!"

I have noticed how different was the conduct of the Bengal government; and I will add, that this conduct was sustained and induced by the example of Lord Auckland: he exerted himself most strenuously, and his published minutes upon the culture of cotton are replete with sound information and knowledge of detail.

Several gentlemen, within the last few years, stimulated in some degree by the prizes offered by the Agricultural Society, have made very successful efforts towards the improvement of the breed of cattle. Mr. Huffnagle and Mr. C. Prinsep are pre-eminent among these; and I have had the pleasure of seeing the cross produce between cattle from Suffolk, Herefordshire, Ireland, and Alderney with the native breeds from Bengal, Nagore, Jumnapore, Hurrianah and Scinde. The success of the experiment is told

by the fact, that while the pure native cattle may be purchased at from 8 to 20 rupees, cows of the cross-breed have sold for sums varying from 100 to 300 rupees. A young cow of Scinde and English parentage was sold by Mr. Huffnagle, in 1840, for 310 rupees.

Government has aided the exertions of private individuals in their rude endeavours to improve the manufacturing process pursued in making salt. In Bengal it is conducted in the most primitive way, and is a government monopoly. At four or five places in the vicinity of Calcutta, government store-houses, or salt-golahs, are established, whither the Molungees, or native makers, bring their produce. These have a piece of ground roughly turned up with the kodala (an implement used both as a spade and hoe); the clods are sprinkled with sea-water as fast as the sun evaporates it, and when the clods have become thoroughly impregnated with saline particles, they are put into a large

earthenware vessel or gumlah, and the salt washed out with salt-water, until the latter becomes brine. It is evaporated in small earthen pots over fires fed by fuel from the jungles around, and every day's manufacture is deposited in government golahs.

The price paid to these petty manufacturers, or molungees, is fixed by government at about 7 annas (10½*d.*) per maund (80 lb), and they again settle their own price in selling it to the merchants at about 425 rupees for 100 maunds. With the government, therefore, it is a most strict monopoly, and selling it only in such great quantities keeps it in the hands of the large native merchants. When it reaches their possession, it is a fine grained white salt, but they mix it with sand or ashes, which makes it a vile compound before it comes to the native retailer; and as he adulterates it in a similar manner, the salt contains full fifty per cent. of impurities, and is almost black before it is obtained by the lower class of consumers.

If the monopolies did not exist, the consumers would have a much purer salt, and at least 300 per cent. cheaper than at present. This is a great hardship upon the natives; for in the moist and torrid climate of India, the importance of salt as an anthelmintic is supreme, and the food of the lower castes being almost exclusively vegetable, and of the most insipid description, requires salt essentially to render it palatable as well as wholesome. Only the coarser kinds of rice, as is correctly observed by Dr. Tennant, are within their reach, "Such is the lot of millions of the most useful of mankind; their house and clothing not worth a rupee, and their highest luxury a mixture of grain, which they can hardly afford to season with as much salt as you may hold between the finger and thumb." It is a tax, also, which presses much harder upon the poor than on the rich classes, for in the households of the latter, employing as they do, other sapid food and condiments, not more than six seers

of salt* are consumed annually; but from inquiries made especially by me, I found that the lower classes do not consume for each individual, less than eight seers in the course of twelve months; these cost about eight annas, and as his wife and children require a proportionate quantity, it is evident that every poor native has to pay about $\frac{1}{20}$th of his income for salt alone.

The celebrated Rammohun Roy gave the following information relative to the use of salt among his poorer brethren: — "The rice is usually eaten with what the Hindoos call turkaree, and the Mussulman salem, that is something such as a little fish, or dal, a kind of dressed pease or vegetables (kidney-bean), according to their ability to procure these articles. But as they have long been accustomed to the use of salt, the high cost of this ingredient sometimes obliges the poor people to give up their

* A seer is equal to 2 lbs. English.

turkaree, or salem, to procure it, and eat their rice with salt alone. As salt has, by long habit, become an absolute necessary of life, the poorest peasants are ready to surrender every thing else, in order to procure a small portion."

It is needless for me to state more to demonstrate, that the tax on this article in India is an oppressive impost, afflicting the poor, though scarcely felt by the wealthy, nor shall I enter into a detail of evidence showing how valuable this saline compound has been found as a manure for the cotton, sugar-cane, and tobacco plants: an application not available to the Ryots, owing to the price it now fetches. Its value as an addition to the food of cattle is known throughout India, and Rammohun Roy observed, that its employment was prevented by its excessive price; cheapness, he said, would probably restore its use, for great quantities were formerly used as a seasoning for the food of cattle.

When to these considerations are added the expense of the Darogah (Custom-house) system, and the frauds committed, despite the care and expense incurred by the government, to an amount of one-half of the salt used in India, and the prevention by the high price of the employment of salt in certain manufactures, the words of Sir T. Barnard, writing on the salt-tax in England, may be adopted: "No commutation can be proposed which will not be lighter and less injurious to the community, individually and collectively, than the present unjust, impolitic, and oppressive tax."

A joint-stock company, for the manufacture of salt at Calcutta, was formed about three years since. Solar evaporation was the great means to be employed; but, like all joint-stock companies there, it has been a failure. They do not succeed in Calcutta, because every subscriber, every director, has as much private business to attend to as the

climate and his time will admit of being well managed.

Every locality is placed under the care of one of the Company's covenanted servants, who is called the Salt-agent. Of the agencies in Bengal the largest and most productive is Hidgelee. Salt is manufactured there cheaper than at the others, partly because the wages are very low, only half of those paid in the 24-Pergunnahs,* and partly because the evaporating places, or aurungs, are situated in the open country near the sea, and the process therefore proceeds more rapidly. In the 24-Pergunnahs there are but two aurungs, both situated in the heart of the Soonderbunds, where the supplies of food and other necessaries of life, the charges for their transport by water, the clearing of jungle, and the erection of stockade habitations as a safeguard against tigers—all tend to increase the expenses of manufacture.

* This is a district near Calcutta.

These two aurungs cannot, in the most favorable season, make more than 600,000 maunds, equal to about 21,429 tons.

Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the manufactures and agriculture of India still labour, it is satisfactory to know that they advance, and that the progression is rapid. This is demonstrated by the increased amount of the national exports, of which a voluminous table might be given, but a shorter, if not quite such demonstrative evidence to the same purport, is afforded by the following table, showing the number of ships which arrived at Calcutta during the years, inclusive, from 1830 to 1839.

| Year. | Ships. |
|---|---|
| 1830 | 281 |
| 1831 | 266 |
| 1832 | 246 |
| 1833 | 390 |
| 1834 | 403 |
| 1835 | 365 |
| 1836 | 458 |
| 1837 | 487 |
| 1838 | 436 |
| 1839 | 516 |

The great and sudden increase in 1833 arose from the trade being thrown open in that year. The trade still continues increasing, and even at the season when the shipping are usually least numerous in the port, viz., in May, in the year of 1842 there were 180 vessels lying in the Hooghly.

# CHAPTER VII.

## LORD AUCKLAND'S EXTERNAL POLICY—AFFGHANISTAN—BURMAH—CHINA.

Dethronement of Dhost Mahomed—Parallel with that of Napoleon—Circumstances Preceding—Sir Alexander Burnes' and Captain Wade's Representations—Our Reverses—Our Representatives not necessarily blameable—Increase of Commerce beyond the Indus—Burmah Policy—Opinions entertained by the Burmese—Expulsion of our Representatives—The China War—Insults and Outrages upon our Merchants and Captain Elliot—The Opium Trade—Use of Intoxicating Drugs—Gunja—Bang—Churus—Opium Monopoly—Annual Produce—Trade not confined to China—Sumatra Trade.

## CHAPTER VII.

LORD AUCKLAND'S EXTERNAL POLICY—AFFGHANISTAN—BURMAH—CHINA.

Of our right to aid in the dethronement of Dhost Mahomed there can be no doubt. It was not the fact of his being an usurper that justified such an interference; for so long as an usurper of the throne of a neighbouring state continues friendly, we have no right to interfere with its internal arrangements.—The choice of dynasties must be left to the predominant party within its own territory; but the rule—the equity—of non-intervention ceases, so soon as that usurper commences hostilities, or enters into alliances threatening our safety, or that of our allies,

whom we are bound by treaty to support even to active warfare; and still more does the rule cease from applicability when the usurper seeks alliances with other powers, and urges their advance towards our frontier, which advance, above all other contingencies, he knows it is our desire and interest to prevent.

Now this was precisely Dhost Mahomed's case, and his was almost parallel with that of Napoleon. They were both usurpers,—we acknowledged them both as sovereigns: we should not have interfered with either, had he not attacked our allies, and threatened our own possessions; but they did both. We then waged against them a self-protective war; and, as neither would listen to admissible terms, displaced them, to reinstate the Dooranee and Bourbon dynasties, who, to complete the parallel, had each found a refuge, during exile, within our territory.

It has been argued that Dhost Mahomed

was not our enemy; but facts are stubborn antagonists, and before the argument prevails, the state papers which exist, and extracts from which have been published by order of parliament, must be annihilated. In these are the records of the Russo-Persian attack upon Herat, and of Dhost Mahomed's invitations for the same united forces to advance from that conquest, *if* achieved, to the very boundary of our Indian Empire. It is all very well, now, to say that Vicovitch was at Cabool merely to establish commercial relations for Russia, but it is certain he acted politically and hostilely to our interests. There can be no rational doubt that he was so instructed to act; but whether this were so or not, our government could but judge from the overt acts, and these proclaimed that Persia, Russia, the Seikhs, and Dhost Mahomed, were intent upon a movement towards our Indian frontiers on the north-west.

It has been argued that, supposing we had a right to dethrone Dhost Mahomed, yet that we should not have placed Shah Soojah on the musnud, inasmuch as he is not the sovereign by hereditary right. Now, although there is a division of opinion among the Mahomedan law authorities upon this point, yet the one opinion seems as well supported as the other. Leaving this to be settled by those who may consider it important, I will only observe, that Shah Soojah had been on the musnud before, unopposed by the people, and with the consent of his elder (sightless) brother, Shah Zeman, whose offspring are *now* said to have a better title. Shah Soojah was *de facto* the last sovereign, previously to Dhost Mahomed, and we had a right to believe that the Shah was desired by the Affghans, not merely from the above facts, but from information received and subsequently attested, as this was, by Dhost Mahomed not being able to gather together even

a handful of men to maintain battle against the Shah's return to his capital. The question for us to determine was, not whether the old sovereign had a clear hereditary right, according to our or the Mahomedan law, but whether, as the Dhost could not be allowed by us to retain the sovereignty, Shah Soojah had a prior claim to restoration.

In the September of 1836, the late and lamented Sir Alexander (then Captain) Burnes, being Assistant-resident in Cutch, was directed by Lord Auckland, in a very explicit letter, to "conduct a commercial mission to the countries bordering on the Indus;" and he was enjoined, in the course of that mission, to proceed to Cabool, and return thence by Shikerpore, taking care to be economical in all his arrangements, "as parade would be unsuitable to the character of a commercial mission." He did not arrive at Cabool until the September of 1837, the intervening period being occupied in obtain-

ing information relative to the commercial resources and wants of the intermediate districts.

Immediately after reaching Cabool, he delivered a letter, with which he was entrusted, written by Lord Auckland to Dhost Mahomed, in which, after alluding to the important benefits derivable from commerce, he concluded by saying, that Captain Burnes was sent "to confer as to the best means of facilitating commercial intercourse between Affghanistan and India." But in the meantime—that is, while Captain Burnes was *en route* from Bombay to Cabool—Dhost Mahomed had actually applied to the Indian government for its friendly aid in managing a cessation of the hostilities then existing between himself and Runjeet Singh. In consequence of this application, the mission of Captain Burnes was at once rendered political as well as commercial; and his first impression was, to use his own words, "that

the Dhost would set forth no extravagant pretensions, but would act in such a manner as would enable the British government to show its interest in his behalf, and at the same time, preserve for us the valued friendship of the Seikh chief, (Runjeet Singh)."

Captain Burnes wrote thus four days after his arrival at Cabool, but he soon found good reason to alter his opinion, as well as to conclude that the Dhost was in a precarious position, not only from a threatened Seikh invasion, but from his own unpopularity. Thus writing again, within *less than a fortnight*, Captain Burnes informed the government that Dhost Mahomed had told him that having sought our friendship, because we were his neighbours, and having failed, he had applied to Persia, and that an Elchee was now on his way to Cabool with presents from the Shah. At the conclusion of the same letter, Captain Burnes added that, though Dhost Mahomed's wars "had gained

him applause," yet to the party "by far the most worthy of conciliation, the wealthy and mercantile classes, his campaigns have given great dissatisfaction."

Captain Wade, our resident at Loodianah, writing three months subsequently, spoke still more strongly on this point, "Popular commotions," he said, "have occasionally broken out, which he (Dhost Mahomed) has found it difficult to suppress; and even after his late success against the Seikhs, such was the feeling of parties towards him, that had it not been for the arrival of the British Mission, nothing could have saved him from the combination which his brothers had formed to overthrow his authority."

The truth of this position, and of the Dhost's anxiety to form a foreign alliance, became more and more apparent from every succeeding letter of Captain Burnes, as well as from other information. In every interview with that officer, and in every communication

the Dhost, whilst ostensibly standing out in his demand that we should obtain for him, from Runjeet Singh, the restoration of Peshawhur, stipulated for assistance to maintain himself upon the throne, protection against Persia, and other proposals, to an acquiescence with which it was impossible for us to pledge ourselves. Yet the necessity for a final arrangement became daily more urgent and desirable. The Persians were before Herat, had overcome Meimuna and the adjacent states, and at the close of February, 1838, there were no friendly tribes between them and Cabool.

At this date, too, Captain Vicovitch, the Russian agent, had arrived, and been received, if not with public honours, at least privately, with marked satisfaction. This induced a final and peremptory note from Captain Burnes, warning the Dhost "that our friendship was entirely dependent on his relinquishment of alliance with any power to the west," again offering that we should

be the mediator between the Cabool and Lahore courts, but that as to guaranteeing the restoration of Peshawhur, or that we could immediately secure him from the attacks of Persia, these were demands we could not pledge ourselves to see accomplished. This produced the following unmistakeable declaration from the Dhost's ministers.

"The Sirdar replied," said Captain Burnes, "that I could not have considered, that they had not only received an agent from the Emperor of Russia in Cabool, but a written promise, under the seal and signature of M. Goutte, the Russian agent, with the Shah of Persia at Herat, which he had with him, granting all that they desired; and it was for me to consider how far, under such circumstances, they could receive my arguments, in opposition to such direct and recorded pledges.

"I asked if they reposed confidence in these papers.

"'Most certainly,' was the reply, 'since they are from Europeans, whose word is inviolable.'

"'But,' continued I, 'is not Russia to aid you, through means of Persia; and how does the Shah act towards you? He addresses you as his vassals, and calls your country a part of his own. Are Lord Auckland's letters or views couched in such terms? Certainly not.'

"'That may be all very true,' said the Sirdar, 'but a powerful enemy threatens us, and if you will do no more than use general terms, and go no further than keeping Mr. Leech at Candahar, we must take measures to secure ourselves in the manner best suited to our advantage.'"

This interview took place on the 13th of April; on the 26th Captain Burnes left Cabool; and Captain Vicovitch was immediately publicly received, and treated with the greatest distinction by Dhost Mahomed.

After this, there could be no room for doubt, in the mind of any unprejudiced person, that a union of Persian, Russian, and Affghan power would be concentrated in hostile array against the Punjaub, our old ally, and, consequently, upon our north-western frontier.

To frustrate this, no one can reasonably contend, was not better than to await its bursting upon that point in its united force. Those who argue otherwise must contend, that every minister who has presided over the destinies of Great Britain since the House of Brunswick ascended the throne, has been wrong in his judgments—they must argue that it is most politic to allow a hostile avowed confederacy to gather and concentrate, rather than crush it in embryo. Lord Auckland held a contrary opinion, and coinciding with the more usual judgment, issued his memorable manifesto accordingly. The triumphant result of the subsequent expedi-

tion, under Sir John Keane, was the consequence. This triumph silenced all previous condemners; and nothing was heard but congratulations, admiration of the judgment displayed in planning and executing the expedition, and laudations of the policy adopted by the Governor-general to secure to us the commerce of the Indus. His return to Calcutta, and the entertainment given to him, was quite an ovation.

Neither was approbation of Lord Auckland's Affghan policy confined to the European community; for the meeting of the principal native inhabitants of Calcutta, who addressed his lordship in the February of 1840, did no more than express the opinion of their countrymen at large, when they characterised his energetic proceedings as a "further step in the regeneration of their native land." This continued until the close of 1841, and then, so soon as the news reached Calcutta that an *émeute* had oc-

curred at Caboöl, that Shah Soojah was no longer in the ascendant, and that our troops were endangered, the clamour arose, which is so usual, from those little minds who see merit only in success, and in every reverse an evidence of error.

Some immediately argued that Shah Soojah should be forthwith abandoned—an unworthy counsel, that I rejoiced to oppose uncompromisingly. It was an unworthy counsel, if considered with relation to Shah Soojah alone, for it would be to desert him in the time of his extremest need; having placed him in a situation of danger and difficulty, then, because it was found to be such, to a degree somewhat more embarrassing than we anticipated, it would be to say, "It is too expensive, therefore you must fight your own battle."

As it would have been base conduct towards Shah Soojah, so much more would it have been disgraceful to ourselves. It is the

proud distinction of England, that she never shrunk from the side of an ally in adversity. Many times has she been basely deserted—friend after friend have dropped from her, until she stood alone against the world: and —let the glorious climax be added—she beat the world that was struggling for her destruction. That a contrary policy could be pursued, seemed impossible; inasmuch as that we were bound to sustain Shah Soojah, not only by honour, but by treaty; for, to use the words of Lord Auckland, when speaking of the tripartite alliance between the governments of India, Affghanistan, and the Punjaub, "the friends and enemies of any one of the contracting parties have been declared to be the friends and enemies of all." * * *

"The Governor-general confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents, and *when* once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Affghanistan established, the British army will

be withdrawn." Until then, therefore, we were bound to stand by our ally, or until his cause became hopeless, or he was proved to have been faithless, and offending against the power we exerted in his favour.

As it would have been unworthy, because dishonourable, to desert Shah Soojah in his adversity, so would such a line of policy have been most disastrous in its effect upon every other eastern potentate who is disaffected towards us, either within, or bordering upon, our frontiers. It would have been a confession that we had failed in a struggle with the Affghan hordes; and instead of securing our object, and dissolving the hostile confederacy, we should have left on our border a turbulent foe, delighting in war, and elated with imagined victory; whilst to Nepaul, Burmah, the Sheiks, the Ameers, and the central states, would have been held up a result which vanity, pride, and jealousy, would lead them to hope to secure similarly for themselves.

The cause which enabled the insurgents,

for a season, to triumph over us, was the want of information to our representative at the Cabool Court; this prevented reinforcements being sent, and caused the deficiency of the number of troops employed. To these drawbacks must be added, incapacity in the commander, which especially appeared, not only in the hour of need, at Cabool, but in his dividing even his small force into still smaller divisions, distant from, and unconnected with each other.

There was no cause for blaming the government or their envoys, that the insurrection in Cabool, so disastrous to our troops, came upon them like a whirlwind, unexpected and overwhelming. The government at Calcutta necessarily depended for the information by which its general conduct and directions must be influenced, upon its envoys at Cabool, and if the information furnished did not suggest the imminent necessity for a reinforcement, the government, by every

dictate of reason and justice, must be held blameless. Neither is it a just conclusion, that either Sir A. Burnes, or Sir W. Macnaghten were supine and neglectful of the usual measures adopted by diplomatists to obtain intelligence, because they were not forewarned of the insurrection.

Shah Soojah, the most interested of all persons, was either in ignorance of the smouldering volcano, or a participator in the plot; and in either case, the secret was sufficiently well preserved to keep our envoys in a state of unsuspecting ignorance.

That it is quite possible for a conspiracy as powerful, and even far more important, to be preserved in secresy until too late to be counteracted, is evinced by that which preceded the return of Bonaparte from Elba. In that case, not only the ambassador of England, but the representatives of the courts of all Europe were residing in Paris; yet, with all their vigilance, and paid agents, not one

received an intimation of the coming storm. Nor was this all, for not even the police of France, confessedly one of the best regulated and most efficient in the world, had any knowledge of what was about to happen. Yet so well advised were the Bonaparteans of their leader's promised coming, that during the preceding winter, a standing toast among them was, "The violet, which will return in the spring."

If all the ambassadors at Paris, all the courts of Europe, including that of France itself, were without intelligence relative to the return of Bonaparte, most certainly it was no inexcusable deficiency in Sir A. Burnes and Sir W. Macnaghten to have been unapprized of the proposed insurrection among the everlastingly rebelling hordes north of the Indus, and whose hostile attempts or intentions, even if told to our envoys, may have been heard as a narrative like those of the hundreds of petty risings which had occurred since Shah Soojah had

succeeded to the musnud, and in which fortune he was only not differing from any of his predecessors, during all time to which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.

Perfectly clear as appears the justification of our Trans-Indus expedition,—and free from any proof of blame both the government and its unfortunate Cabool envoys,—so the ulterior policy of Lord Auckland was laudable and successful. The increase of our commerce, in consequence of the establishment of our influence in Affghanistan, was long denied as possible; and even when official returns proved the contrary,—the increase being vast and augmenting,—the oppugners of our north-western policy were too ungenerous to admit they were in error, though they gradually subsided into the detracting growl of dissatisfaction—"Lord Auckland never anticipated that our commerce would be so much benefited."

This mere surmise of snarlers, who will

seek any subterfuge rather than admit merit in an adversary, is refuted by the words of his lordship's manifesto in 1838; and that he was justified in coming to such a conclusion is demonstrable from the communications from the late Sir A. (then Capt.) Burnes, Captain Wade, and Sir W. Macnaghten, some of which have been published, and others which have not been rendered thus public, all coinciding in the opinion, that if British influence were established at the Cabool Court, and peace confirmed, our extra-Indus commerce would be vastly enlarged.

Let us see how events verified these anticipations, and here I will refer to no doubtful documents, but to those against which no counter authorities ever have or can be brought. The first to which reference may be made was published in the Calcutta newspapers, and subsequently in the "Transactions of the Bengal Asiatic Society," being

communicated from the government to those journals, by Mr. H. Torrens. The table itself was prepared by Mr. Smith, Superintendant of the Custom House at Delhi. From this it appears that in the commercial year 1838-39,* independently of any goods sent direct from Bombay up the Indus, there were exported to Cabool, *viâ* Delhi, British manufactures to the amount of nearly *four and a half lakhs of rupees.* In 1839-40 these had decreased, owing to the commencement of our hostile movements in Affghanistan, to somewhat less *than three lakhs;* but in 1840-41, the very first year after our establishment of Shah Soojah, these exports had swollen to rather more than *thirty-two and a half lakhs.*

The exports of spices, sulphur, &c., seaborne *viâ* Calcutta and Bombay, were worth, in 1838-39, half a lakh of rupees; in 1839-

* In India, the commercial year commences on the 1st of May, and ends on the 30th of April.

40, they had declined almost to nothing; and in 1840-41, they had risen to nearly *five* lakhs.—Of Indian produce, piece-goods, &c., the exports were worth in 1838-39 about *eight-tenths of a lakh;* in 1839-40, they were nearly the same; but in 1840-41, they had increased to more than *two and three-quarters of lakhs.* In other articles, such as indigo, and small manufactured goods, similarly enormous increases occurred, and the grand total shows that in 1838-39 the exports were *seven and a half lakhs;* in 1839-40, *five lakhs,*, and in 1840-41, *forty-three lakhs!*

The increase of trade from Bombay to Affghanistan has also been enormous. Thus, independantly of what may have been sent thither direct by the steamers and other vessels established on the Indus, the increase of exports to Cutch and Scinde, which even the condemners of our Affghan policy acknowledge, arises from the increased demand

in Affghanistan, amounting to more than *eighteen and a half lakhs.* The official report shows the following as the amount of exports during three years :

| | 1838-39. | 1839-40. | 1840-41. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rupees | 606,606 | 1,520,701 | 2,463,235. |

The *Bombay Times,* which is supplied by merchants with the best commercial intelligence, and is, moreover, an unwilling witness, acknowledged in 1841, that in the Bazaar, where such things are pretty accurately known, it was estimated that the export trade of Bombay with Affghanistan had for some time exceeded *twenty lakhs* annually. Thus, then, within one twelvemonth from the establishment of Shah Soojah on the throne, and owing to the judicious commercial stipulations made by Lord Auckland with the nations bordering on the Indus, our exports to beyond the Indus increased nearly *fifty-seven lakhs,* in two known directions only ; and if the truth

could be ascertained relative to the direct Bombay trade to Affghanistan, I have little doubt but that it would be found to have increased some ten or twelve lakhs more.

Another demonstration of the extension of commerce consequent on Lord Auckland's Affghan policy, is the increase of boats and tonnage on the Sutlege, which has regularly advanced, until from five boats built in 1838, it attained to sixty-nine in 1841-42. The average tonnage of these vessels has similarly increased: in 1838 they averaged 380 maunds each, and in 1841, 537 maunds.

Such an immense and instantaneous increase in the amount of Indian exports, stands alone in its commercial history; and if, as has been said, modern wars are entered upon to promote the commercial interests of the aggressor, then never was war waged in these later years that has been more successful in attaining this object in the East, than that carried on in Affghanistan. We entered

upon that war for a different purpose, but this possible result was foreseen; and, from the first hostile movement that was made against the Ameers of Scinde, to the planting of Shah Soojah's banner on the walls of Cabool, the increase of our commerce was never forgotten; and in every treaty, care has been diligently taken to secure the quiet and well-regulated navigation of the Indus.

Some carping critics have adopted the most unjust of all modes of depreciating Lord Auckland's merit, by maintaining that all the good effected in the enlargement of our commerce might have been done as well, or better, had a different system been pursued! I have no doubt upon my own mind when I say, that it could not; for while Dhost Mahomed was ruler of Affghanistan, constantly intriguing with Russia and Persia, and thwarting us by his policy—whilst the Ameers of Scinde were equally unfriendly—while the banks of the Indus were commanded

by such foes, and such imposers of high arbitrary duties, nothing short of sweeping away such impediments could benefit our trade to the enormous extent effected. But supposing, for the sake of argument, and for that only,—now that the policy has been adopted,—now that the Ameers have been awed into amity, and mulcted of eight lakhs of rupees, and the Indus thrown open to our merchants, and our trade in one year increased by some fifty or sixty lakhs,—suppose that *now*, gathering knowledge from *subsequent* events, it could be shown that all these great advantages might have been purchased at a cheaper rate, still I should like any cynic to quote a few other instances of foreign policy of which it would be impossible to assert, "Oh! it might have been effected more advantageously."

The external policy of Lord Auckland requires to be considered with relation to Burmah and China, as well as Affghanistan.

I am fully aware that at the time the Governor-general hastened reinforcements to Moulmein, when Tharawaddie, the Burmese sovereign, was moving down with so large an armament in the September of 1841, that many persons, both at Calcutta and Moulmein, regarded it as an unnecessary expense; but if we were to conclude that those politicians were correct in their judgment, because no hostilities actually occurred, we should arrive at a very erroneous inference. When it was known that Tharawaddie was descending to Rangoon, at the head of an army, whose strength was variously reported at from 70,000 to 200,000 men, and with a commensurate fleet of war-boats, any government must have been careless, even to fatuity, which had neglected to reinforce their troops at a settlement in the immediate vicinity of that army's place of assembling: but more especially was the Indian government called upon so to act, considering the circumstances

under which it stood in connexion with that of Burmah.

The object of the movement to Rangoon was unexplained, and an embargo upon our timber-trade thither was levied; nor must past events be forgotten in our consideration of the transaction. From the time of our first establishing a commercial treaty with the court of Ava, in 1795, down to the present time, its professed friendly feeling towards us has been most consistently of that kind of profession characterised by Sir Henry Wotton as "*lying* abroad to serve home purposes." There has been no sincerity in the friendship simulated by Burmah; neither will there ever be a better feeling; they think too magnificently of themselves for that; and it is only by decided periodical lessons, such as we administered in 1824-25, that we shall preserve them in a frame of action at all endurable in neighbours. That was the only unmistakeable flagellation we ever

gave them, yet they even then thought we dared not proceed to extremities; the punishment should have been persevered in for four days longer, and the treaty of 1826 should have been signed in the Burmese capital, Ameerapoora, instead of within a quartrain of days' marches from its walls.

The Burmese could not then comprehend why, when we had the game in our own hands, we did not play it out; why we did not go as far as possible in reaping the advantages within our grasp. Forbearance and moderation are not within their political category, and those who do not obtain all they can, in public as well as private transactions, are considered by these semi-barbarians as actuated by some fear, or shaken by some weakness not apparent.

Thus they never could comprehend, except on the ground that we were afraid,—and I am equally blind on that point,—why their massacre of British subjects at Negrais,

many years since, was not effectually resented; they never could understand why their invasion of Arracan was not retributively visited. This led to further aggressions—to the capture of Shakpuri; and they were not convinced that we were unrestrained by dastardly motives, until our army, under Sir. John Campbell, so repeatedly taught them a different lesson. Sixteen years have elapsed since then; self-conceit has somewhat effaced the memory of the visitation; and I am well convinced that they do not comprehend why we have submitted so quietly to have our representatives, Captain M'Leod, Colonel Benson, and Colonel Burney, successively compelled to quit their territory.

In the autumn of 1841, they concluded that our power was declining, that France, Persia, Affghanistan, and China, were more than enough for us to be competing with,—for they are grossly misinformed, and easily

led astray concerning foreign affairs,—and they therefore considered it an auspicious time to recover the provinces, the crore of rupees, and some of the honour lost to them by the war and treaty of 1824-26.

It is now no mere assumption, that the Burmese consider either an injury unrevenged, or a success not fully availed, as symptomatic of fear, or a want of power; for in the evidence collected in Burmah, by Mr. Crawford, in 1826, there is abundant confirmation of the fact.—Thus, the Rev. Mr. Judson stated, "About a month before my imprisonment, the king's sister said to me that it was obvious the English were afraid to fight; that their conduct on the frontier was mean and cowardly; that they were always more disposed to treat than to fight; and upon some occasions, when the Burman and British troops met, the British officers held up their hands to entreat the Burmans not to advance." * * *

"The new Governor-general (she added) acts foolishly; he is afraid of us, and attempts to coax us, yet continues the usual course of aggression and encroachment."—This is evidence, supported by that of other parties to the same effect.

Our not resenting the expulsion of our representatives, and the false intelligence imparted by the Chinese, I believe to have been the chief causes leading to the hostile demonstrations. They have passed away, without an actual conflict. We were found prepared, and intelligence of the Chinese defeats arrived, and served to cause a change of Burmese policy; but the encounter cannot be deferred for any very distant period. Pride, jealousy, and ignorance have been so long at work, generating fever, that I think it will not be allayed without a repetition of the severe course of correctives administered when the patient and his English phlebotomist last met at Rangoon.

It is also well worthy of consideration whether the late hostile movements suggest the necessity for our insisting upon having a resident representative at the Burmah Court, according to the treaty of 1826. I am aware that some, who are well versed in the political affairs of India, have considered such a representative a needless expense, but recent experience shows that without such an official, our government can never be secure from the receipt of imperfect, contradictory, and too tardy intelligence; such as led, in 1841, to the uncertainty and consequent delay in the despatch of reinforcements. I think that the maintenance of a resident at the Burmah Court, and recompense for the infraction of the existing treaty should now be most rigidly enforced. The compulsory retirement of our representative was a direct infraction of the seventh article of the treaty of 1826, and the embargo upon timber was an infraction, it is said, of

a subsequent commercial treaty ; but of this I have not seen a copy.

Relative to the Chinese war there was but one opinion in India, excepting in the case of a few individuals whose constitutions compel them always to be in opposition. It was generally felt that the Chinese had compelled us to enter upon a vindicatory war, and that we needed no other justification than that afforded by the Chinese themselves, by their outrages, imprisonment, and insults, visited not merely on British private individuals, but upon the British representative. It was immaterial even if the merchants were engaged in illicit traffic with the Emperor's subjects, and contrary to his edicts ; it mattered not, even if those merchants acted indiscreetly, contumaciously, or even violently, in sustaining their defiance of the Chinese laws ; it mattered nothing though the British representative acted erroneously. All this might be granted, and yet the whole

would amount to no justification for that indiscriminate insult, oppression, imprisonment, murder, and actual warfare, which brought injury and ruin alike upon the innocent and the guilty, and in perpetrating which, the relative laws and customs, which regulate the intercourse between nations, were set at defiance and violated.

It forms no part of my design to enter into the details of the China hostilities; but it will be well to touch upon the circumstances which led to their commencement, for they will serve to demonstrate the absurdity of which those are guilty, who condemn the war as unholy, because they allege that it was undertaken in defiance of the opium smuggling.

That the Chinese had every right to forbid the importation of that narcotic into the empire, and to banish any foreigner who acted in defiance of the prohibition, admits of no doubt; and it is as indubitable that

they had a right to visit with death any native transgressor of the law, if such a sanguinary punishment seemed to them to be requisite; but this does not justify the insulting course they adopted, of executing the offenders before the door of the British factory, and that in spite of the remonstrances from our merchants. In the February of 1840, this insult was repeated more than once, and it was not until after such repetition, that our merchants requested the British flag might be struck until such time as Captain Elliot could be referred to. Then followed the second outrage, for Chinese troops invested the factory, and refused to allow either food or water to be admitted to its tenants. Captain Elliot proposed to proceed to their rescue, but he was told by the Chinese authorities that if he dared to fire a gun, they would hang every European within their power.

Further justification of an appeal to the

*ultima ratio* is needless, yet outrages still more insulting, and summoning us to retributive and vindicatory war speedily followed. The principal Hong merchants were brought in fetters to the factory, and announced as doomed to instant execution by the Chinese government, if the whole of the opium at Lintin was not delivered up. This was the fifth act of barbaric insult and oppression. The opium was delivered up, and then, that there might be no doubt that such outrages were sanctioned by the Court of China, the Emperor expressed himself highly satisfied with Commissioner Lin's proceedings, and promoted him for his conduct. This occurred in the May of 1840, and was followed immediately by the departure from the factory of Captain Elliot and all British subjects.

In July, Commissioner Lin gave them the option of returning to Canton, or of departing altogether; and after the treatment they had received, it is no wonder that they did

not accept the first branch of the alternative. It was well for them that they did not, for soon after, a Chinese being killed, as it was said, in a scuffle with some English sailors, the imperial authorities made extraordinary efforts to get hold of a British subject, and, if they had succeeded, doubtless would have hung him in strict accordance with the *lex talionis*; a conclusion we are the more justified in drawing, from the fact of their subsequently offering rewards for the heads of British subjects, carefully adjusted proportionably to their rank!

Not being able to force us to obey either of the mandates, the Chinese government then issued an edict that all British subjects should quit Macao, and a sufficient demonstration that the native authorities intended to act up to the bloody purposes announced, appears from the fact that Mr. Moss, who left that town in the *Black Joke* schooner, was surprised by the crews of three mandarin-boats, and mutilated with savage barbarity.

Then followed the concentration of their war junks, and the rapid succession of defeats, breaches of promise, falsehoods, &c., which I shall not further particularise, but which has led to a termination of that degrading mode of intercourse which would make our merchants appear as unworthy of credit, and our national power as unworthy of recognition; has gained for Great Britain —for all civilized Europe—a guaranteed security that the merchant may trade without liability to authorised insult, or commissioned oppression;—that British officers will be guarded from the tyranny which compelled Sir Henry Middleton to escape from Canton in a water-cask, and which harassed to the death Lord Napier.

Now, in opposition to these facts, what is urged by those who decry the war? Why, they admit all the facts, but say that we brought it all upon ourselves, by sanctioning the opium trade,—which is true, if it be also a fact, that the French government sanction the smuggling of brandy into Great Britain, by permitting its manufacture in France.

No one will maintain this absurdity; and it is equally ridiculous to argue that the East India Company are criminal in deriving a revenue from the drug; for if such were the just condemnation, then within the same criminality would be a tax upon spirits, wine, or any other manufactured article, the use of which may degenerate into abuse. And to prohibit the manufacture of these on this account, would be to destroy the whole commerce of the world.

Razors are sometimes employed for murderous purposes; but no one would thence argue that their manufacture at Sheffield should be prohibited. Wine is sometimes drank to excess; but no one thence concludes that the staple manufactures of Portugal, Madeira, France, and the Rhine countries, should be closed. They know that the vintages would be gathered elsewhere. So of opium, if its growth were prohibited in British India, this would only conclude in throwing its culture into the hands of neighbouring states.

The only mode of extinguishing the opium

trade in China, is by the agency of that country's internal police, and by the eradication of the habit of smoking it from among the people. The latter, we know, is almost like endeavouring to make the Ethiopian change his skin. Stimulants—something "to gladden man's heart"—have been coveted by him ever since Noah made wine from the fruit of the vine; and so long as this desire exists, so surely will the ingenuity of man find means to supply the demand thus created.

It is vain for rulers to impose prohibitory fines and penalties; these enhance the prices of the desired stimulants by increasing the risk of loss in furnishing its supply, but they never did, and never will effect an exclusion. The whole coast of Great Britain, from the Land's End to John O'Groats, is dotted with armed and well-sustained preventive officers; yet, despite their vigilance, French brandy and tobacco are smuggled in to an enormous amount. It is the same with opium in China.*

* The natives of the East have a great predilection for the intoxicating and stimulating gum-resins extractable from several of their indigenous plants, and this fondness arises,

But suppose, as has been suggested, the East India Company were to prohibit the growth of "*the* drug," as it is now called in India, would this aid in putting an end to the trade? Most certainly not; for it is grown, even now, in the independent states of India, especially in Malwa; and, if the cultivation

I believe, most especially on account of their aphrodisaical properties. There is the *Churus*, extracted in Nepal from the flowers of the Indian hemp (*Canabis Indica*); and there is the *Gunja* and *Bang*, from the same plant. The *Gunja* is smoked; but the *Bang* is mixed with water, milk, pepper, melon-seeds, and sugar, forming the favourite inebriating beverage of the low caste Hindoos. Gunja and Bang are well known, but the *Churus* being less common, I will add the account given to me by a well-informed native. Its use has extended to the higher classes, and it is imported to Calcutta, despite the heavy penalties against the smuggling of such compounds. Every year, in the month of January or February, a few pedlars arrive from Nepal, bringing with them, among other commodities, a large quantity of Churus. It is in the form of small balls, or in sticks like candles, each weighing from one quarter to half-a-pound. They sell it at from two to three rupees per seer (two pounds). Its use not being forbidden by the Shasters, but rather *recommended* by the great Shiva, even the respectable portion of the community use this drug on gala days. In November and December it sometimes fetches as much as forty or fifty rupees per seer, though at that price not always procurable. So powerful are its qualities, that intoxication ensues within four or five minutes after smoking it.

were abandoned by the Company, it would be pursued immediately by the French, Dutch, and native capitalists in those parts of India where we have no power to enforce a prohibitory law.

Thus the Company would, by such a measure, injure itself, without gaining anything to others by such cosmopolite conduct; nor would the mischief be confined to the mere loss sustained by the sacrifice of the opium duty; for tea would be advanced in price, by the China trader having to obtain his entire profit from that produce, instead of, as now, being satisfied often with the profit he knows he will gain from the opium for which he has bartered his tea.

Another injury would arise from the reduction in the amount of British manufactured goods exported to India, for the opium grower is enabled to purchase them in proportion to the amount of his drug vended. Lastly, to supply the deficiency of the Indian revenue, caused by an abandonment of the opium tax, some other impost must be

levied; yet I know of none, so little objectionable, that could be substituted. The far greater portion of the drug is consumed as a luxury, and luxuries are the least obnoxious objects for taxation. I would much rather have the whole tax upon salt, grievance as it is, repealed, and the monopoly upon opium a cause of doubling its government upset price. Such an increase of price, like that caused by the duty on spirituous liquors in England, seems open to the least possible objection.

As to the monopoly of the opium growth by the East India Company, it would be indefensible if, without such an exclusive growth, there were any mode in India of securing the due payment of a fixed duty upon the drug. Circumstances render this impossible; and a judgment may be formed of what a loss would be the destruction of the opium revenue, from the following table, showing the annual number of chests produced, and the amount, in Company's rupees, for which they were sold by the Indian government.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In 1835 .. | 12,727 chests sold for.. | 14,512,627 C.'s Rupees. | |
| 1836 .. | 15,044 .. .. | .. 19,211,835 | .. |
| 1837 .. | 17,244½ .. .. | .. 22,789,865 | .. |
| 1838 .. | 19,133 .. .. | .. 14,298,118 | .. |
| 1839 .. | 18,563 .. .. | .. 9,956,654 | .. |
| | 80,000 chests of Malwa opium during these five years . . . | 78,121,276 | |

Making a total of 162,711½ chests, realizing 158,890,375 Company's rupees in five years, averaging more than £3,000,000 sterling annually. In 1841, the number of chests of opium sold was 17,829.

It is a very usual error, to consider that the opium trade is confined to China; but, on the contrary, it extends over all India, to all the islands in the China seas, and to all those included in the Malayan Archipelago. One instance of this will suffice, for it is alike in all.

Whilst a ship in which I was returning to Europe, was repairing damages in Acheen Roads, at the northern extremity of Sumatra, a barque of about 300 tons, belonging to a firm at Singapore, came also to an anchor; and, as in doing this, she carried away our flying jib-boom, this led to considerable inter-

course with her captain and her supercargo. From them I gained much information relative to the trade with Sumatra and its neighbouring islands. Their vessel, like others engaged in the trade, had a freight of opium, long-cloths, muskets, &c., which they bartered for pepper, benzoin, camphor, and tortoise-shell, though they sometimes sold it for cash (Spanish dollars) to the native Rajahs.

It so happened, that at the time we were there, May 1842, the Rajah of Acheen's brother was at war with some neighbour chief, and he actually bought a chest of opium upon credit, to enable him to defray the expenses of the contest! The Rajah of Acheen had guaranteed the money, and the supercargo now called to claim payment!

This barter trade is very far from being enjoyed by the English alone, for this barque left engaged in it on the west coast of Sumatra, several French, and six large American ships. The latter sell their long-cloths cheaper than our traders, but in opium and iron goods we defy their competition. The Americans do not usually take back the

pepper to their own country, but convey it direct to Italy, Turkey, or some other country bordering on the Mediterranean. As they, in common with the French, carry on a large and profitable commerce with Sumatra, it is not improbable that those two countries may use their influence to prevent the further acquisition of its ports by the Dutch.

Not much assistance to the Sumatran Malays would be required to prevent these encroachments, if all the Dutch military arrangements are similar to those at Sinkel, one of their stations on the west coast. My informants visited the cantonments, if they deserve this name, and described them as being miserable and distressing in the extreme. The soldiers were rapidly and daily dying of fever, and the officers, perhaps to obviate the sense of their hopeless position, were abandoned to extreme habits of intemperance.

The mode in which this barter trade for pepper is conducted, is somewhat curious, and certainly does not tend to improve the

morality of the traders, however much it exercises their courage. The vessels confine their visits principally to the states of the independant and petty Rajahs on the west coast of the island, and this is highly dangerous, studded with small islands, rocks, and shoals, and the majority of the ports that have to be visited, have bars across them, so that the vessels have to anchor outside, and the goods are conveyed to and fro through a dangerous surf, the waters near which abound with sharks.

Every bargain has to be completed in the presence of the Rajahs, who derive their revenue chiefly from the per centage they please to exact upon such occasions. When the bargain has been completed, the natives bring their pepper on board in that admirable little canoe peculiar to the Malay, and appropriately called a wave-boat, for it mounts over every ripple and every surf, with similar liveliness and safety. My informant said he used false weights "upon principle!" because he was sure the Malays cheated him as much as they could, by selling to him pepper not

quite dry; his half-hundred weight, therefore, was sixty-four pounds, and he thought this was very moderate, as the American captains employ others which weigh at least seventy pounds!

It is a trade attended by other dangers than those of the coast and the climate, for several ships have been lately cut off by the treacherous inhabitants; and my informant said, that they never went on shore without being well armed, only allowed a few Malays on board their own vessel at a time, and then only held converse with them in their own cabin, with the table spread with loaded pistols, muskets, and other arms.

THE END.

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